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THE

POURTRACTURE

OF HIS SACRED

MAJESTIE

IN HIS
SOLITUDES

AND
SUFFERINGS.

With

PRAYERS

used in the time of
His *Refraine*.

Also His

MAJESTIES
Reasons against the
pretended Jurisdicti-
on of the High Courts
of Justice.

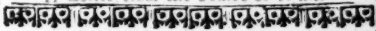
20 M. 8 More than
Conquerour &c.



Bona agere & mala pati. Regina est.

Hereto is annexed

A Letter from the Prince of Wales.



*Reprinted in Regis Memoriam for
John Williams. 1649.*



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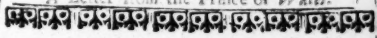
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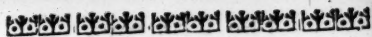
¶ An Epitaph upon King
CHARLS.

SO fails that stately Cedar; while it stood
That was the onely glory of the Wood ;
Great *Charls*, thou earthly God· celestial Man ,
Whole life, like others, though it were a span :
Yet in that span, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore,
Thy heavenly virtues, Angels should rehearse,
It is a theam too high for humane Verse :
He that would know thee right, then let him look
Upon Thy rare-incomparable Book ,
And read it o're and o're; which if he do ,
Hee'l find thee *King*, and *Priest*, and *Prophet* too;
And sadly see our losse, and though in vain ,
With fruitlesse wilhes, call thee back again.
Nor shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse ,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verse
Thy Suff'rings and thy death let no man name ;
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.

7. H.



¶ The



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¶ To these are annexed,
*HIS MAJESTIES Prayers
used in the time of His Re-
straint. And a Copie of a
Letter from the Prince to
the KING. Delivered to
D Juxon upon the Scaffold.
Also His intended Reasons a-
gainst the High Court of
Justice.*

*Likewise, His Majesties Speech
to the Ladie Elisabeth, &c.*



EIKON BASILIKH.

I Upon His Majesties calling
this last Parliament.



His last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessitie of my affaires, than by my own choise and inclination, who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliament, most safe for my Crown, as best pleasing to my

People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with my self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publick grievances in Church and State. I hoped (by my Freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all mis-understandings, and mis-carrriages in this: in which, as I feared, affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should find least of them in my self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-balancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens wel-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleased, with the convening of this Par-

liament than my self; who knowing best the largesse of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and just contentment, pleased my self most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between me and my People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, my own and my Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest Honour and safety, next Gods protection, I cared not to lessen my self in some things of my wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige my friends, but mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissness in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and Regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amisse in practice; but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order than my self; whom it most concerns both in piety and policy; as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissensions are more dangerous than those which make religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant what ever my Reason and Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept my self within those bounds, and not suffered my own Judgement to have been overborn in some things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed my self and my Kingdoms to those advantages which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Prosperity.

FOr thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwayes satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have over laid our hopes : Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glorie by thy Judgements, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions, afterwards to please thee. Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, thou givest us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of my calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention to thy glorie, and my Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon me and my Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and my People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staff may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children, I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought me and my People unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, than our Peace could be with our sins.

O thou Sovereign goodnesse and wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also all our hearts; that the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy Grace turn our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy War, so let this war prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy servant (though a sinner) for my Saviours sake. *Amen.*

2 Upon the Earl of Straffords death.

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in my Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that people, more than led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, than in the businesse of that unfortunate

fortunate Earl: when between my own unsatisfiednesse in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people, I was perswaded by those, that I think withed me well, to chuse rather what was safe, than what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of my Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on my part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my Judgement I thought not by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which, as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered more a fear of man, than of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosom.

Not hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxim, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) than the People be displeased, or destroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood I could never have suffered, with my People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* innocency, at least by denying to Sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which my Conscience suggested to me, than I have done since I gratified some mens unthankfull importunities with so cruel a favour. And I have observed that those, who counselled me to sign that *Bill*, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more than they. He onely hath

hath been least vexed by them, who counselled me, not to consent against the vote of my own Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven me and them, the sinfull rashnesse of that businesse.

To which being in my soul so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon me, are so much the more wel-come; as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to me, as to make me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to me) and for the future to teach me, That the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments; and the peace of my Conscience, before the preservation of my Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike consent from me to Acts, wherein my Conscience is unsatisfied, than the sharp touches I have had for what passed me, in my Lord of *Straffords* Businesse.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in my affairs, against the advice of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesse I was better assured than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing, to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish my Lord of *Straffords* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integritie in their Votes, were (by posting their names) exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and surie; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for Justice, (that is, to have both my self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would have us) that many (tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, than satisfied that of right they ought so to do.

And

And that after-Aſt vacating the Authoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorse touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loth ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tendernesse and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one mans blood unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice and pretences of avoyding publick miſchief:) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſteritie, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that blood which hath bin ſhed in this unhappy War; which ſome men will needs charge on me, to eaſe their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall be more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly than to loſe my own.

But thou, O God, of thy infinite mercies forgive me that act of ſinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me than any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envy; or malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould, at leaſt ſo far, have been a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood guiltineſſe, O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſneſſe.

Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight: for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and hand.

Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer. I ſhall be clean, waſh me with that precious Effuſion, and I ſhall be whiter than ſnow.

Teach me to learn Righteouſneſſe by thy Judgements, and to ſee my frailtie in thy Juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans blood to prevent after troubles, thou haſt for that among
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other

other sins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heaviè troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

Whatever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit which Subjècts my will to none; but thy light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in my Soul: for thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours blood, which speaks better things; O make me and my People, to hear the voice of Joy and Gladnesse; that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

3 *Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the house of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act, Which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears, yea, and many of my friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion than Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchinesse of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidences as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Trial which was all I desired.

Not

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further than I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made to embroyl my Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so; yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, than either to do me, and my Kingdoms right in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their Innocency; and removed my suspicion; which as they were not raised out of any malice; so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this spake (though I sought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their privilege is so false, that as God best knows I had no such intent: so none that attended me could justly gather from any thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were my followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more scared at my coming, than I was un-assured of not having some affronts cast upon me, if I had none with me to preserve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented

vented against me, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that business was this.

Those men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted Vulgar, as greater Protectours of their Laws and Liberties, than my self, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations, no present impunity, or popular vindications of them, will but subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable Judgement, which shall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I foresaw, would in all likelihood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pity:

But to over-aw the Freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, than to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou O Lord art my witnesse in heaven and in my heart: if I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickednesse in my thoughts.

Then Let the enemy persecute my soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but looketh beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self.

Let

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin in that matter; more than their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of my heart, and the innocencie of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoice in thy Salvation.

4 Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all the mischiefs, which have followed, than those Tumults in London and *Westminster*, soon after the Convening of this Parliament, which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake shaking the very foundations of all; than which, nothing in the world hath more of horroure.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea, so 'tis no lesse that he restrains the madnesse of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, than when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the Vulgar, to passe all-boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour, and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most
rude

rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to my Self and my Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an ague; but a quotidian scavour, alwayes encraving to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears, which some men feared themselves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and lesse to be used by wise men, than those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, than to Protest, than to Dictate, at last to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All Obstructions in Parliament (that is, all Freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason and candour) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they please to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacy of men resolving to discharge their Conscience must be subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schismatical proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, whoever had most mind to bring forth Confusion and Ruin upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberatenesse be fitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abhorrtive Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated and connived at by some, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the Publick good, than obtain

obtain it by such unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens passions and Gods directions seldom agree; violent designs and motions must have lutable engines, such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselves to Gods means. Force must crowd in what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends

But, as it is no strangething for the Sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it, so, neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have men of some reputation for parts and pietie to set them on.

That which made their rudenesse most formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and Messages sent by my self, and some of both Houses; yet no order for redresse could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the Malignity of that now far-spread disease and predominant mischief.

Such was some mens stupidity that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged and abused, while they knew their onely securitie consisted in vulgar-flatterie: So insensible were they of mine, or the two Houses common safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examin, censure and punish the known Boute-feus and impudent incendiaries, who boatted of the influence they had, and used to conyoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser Statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industrie, which to sober men could seem no better than that of the Devil, who goes about seeking whom he may deceive, & devour.

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were foully insolented and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from my self, could take place for the due suppression of these Tumults; and securing not our Freedom in Parliament - but our very Person in the streets; I thought my self not bound, by their presence, to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts: I hoped by my withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimie in any man - for popular terrours to desert his publick station. But I think it a hardiness beyond true valour - for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its furie, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certain a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplin'd rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *White-hall*, onely to redeem my Person and Conscience from violence God knows. I did not then think of War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would so many former, and some after Acts, have much weakened my self, if I had purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denied my self in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame me, or any other, for a withdrawing Our selves from the daily baitings of these Tumults, not knowing whether their furie and discontent might not flie so high as to worrie and tear those in pieces, whom as yet, they but play with in their paws? God, who is my sole Judge is my witnesse in Heaven, that I never had
thought

thoughts of going from my House at *White-hall*, if I could have had but any reasonable fair Quarter: I was resolved to bear much and did so; but I did not think my self bound to prostitute the Majestie of my Place and Person, the safety of my Wife and Children to those who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunities most capable of their rudenesse and petulancy.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof some have already given an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperately guiltie,) Time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leave it, as it is, Onely, I believe the just Avenger of all disorders, will in time make those men, and that Citie, see their sin in the glasse of their punishment. 'Tis more than an even lay that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its First Election and Constitution, sat full and free, the Members of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting as in all Reason, Honour, and Religion, they should have been, I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no lesse content to all good men, they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publique Councils, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in England (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelihood with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vicious humours, as that where it was
un-

unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Seas, and the madnesse of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.

I look upon my sins, and the sins of my People (which are the tumults of our souls against thee O Lord,) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbear all the banks of Loyalty, Modestie, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the drie land to appear, and after didst asswage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke those beasts of the People, and deliver me from the rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.

Restore we beseech thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Counsels and Parliaments; make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion; and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians; so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of Order and Counsel.

What man cannot, or will not repress, thy omnipotent Justice can, and will.

O Lord give them that are yet living, a timely sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and no suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passion by Reason; to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duly executed, and to our schismes by Charity; that we may be as thy Jerusalem a Citie at unitie in it self.

This grant, O my God, in thy good time for Jesus Christs sake. *Amen.*

5 Upon his Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments : and after setting this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.



That the World might be fully confirmed in my purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the Happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in me no other design but the General good

of my Kingdoms) I willingly passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments : which, as gentle and seasonable Physick might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would find work with convenient recesses for the first three years; but I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work than they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity, that they will needs make work rather than want it; and chuse to be doing amisse rather than do nothing.

When that first act seemed too scantie to satisfie some mens fears; and to compasse publick affairs; I was perswaded to grant that Bill of sitting during the pleasure of \bar{y} Houses, which amounted in some mens sense, to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present jealousies; and future mistakes : I

confesse I did not thereby intend to shut my self out of doors, as some men have now required me.

True, It was an act unparalell'd by any of my Predecessours, yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation than this, of an extream confidence I had, that my Subjects would not make an ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to them, as to denie my self in so high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit that my condition should be worse by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would keep the Common weal in tune; by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigour, where in my Interest lies more than any mans, since by those Laws, my Rights as a King, would be preserved no lesse than my Subjects which is all I desired. More than the Law gives me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I had repented me of that settling Act: and many words needs perswade me. I had cause so to do; but could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitudo in Men of Honour; That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have and enjoy with them, I still counted my self, undiminished by my largest Concessions, if by them I might please and confirm the love of my People.

Of which, I do not yet despair, but that God will still blesse me with increase of it: when I shall have more leisure, and lesse prejudice: that with unpasionate representations they may rise upon those, (as I think) not more Princely than friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time

Loyal and cleared affections of my People, will strive to return such retributions of Honour, and love to me, or my Posteritie, as may fully compensate both the acts of my confidence and my sufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor small, nor short, occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to men, that being professedly my Subjects, pretended singular pietie and religious strictheffe.

The injurie of all Injuries is, That which some men will needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of my own and my Subjects miseries, while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsely divuige) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostilitie, to undo what by my Royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extrem fatuirty of mind in me, for to bind my own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knows though I had then a sense of Injuries, yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure my self by their not using favours, with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatened to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonnesse; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any capacitie to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater and more desired advantages against me, than by so unprincely inconstancie, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them whom but lately I had solemnly seded by an Act of Parliament.

God knows. I longed for nothing more than that my self, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a course full of sin, as well as of Hazard, and dishonour for me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had lately planted, so much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and mine own too in all probability: If some men had not feared where no fear was, whose securitie consisted in scaring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sinceritie and uprightnesse of my own heart in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times, That although I may seem a less Polititian to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in my own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast me down head long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercie forgives, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by way of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds than this but Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved me, and made me to see, That it is no strange thing for men to follow to their own passions, either to do much to themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodness to others, whereof an ungrateful Surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Bill, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of will, though an error of too charitable a judgment: Onely I am sorrie other mens eyes should be evil, because mine were good.

TO thee, O my God, do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesse of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to my Subjects, and now I need a Heart fitting to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustrating, as the fulfillings of my best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised mine own; and by settling them, have unsettled my self.

Thus have they requited me evil for good, and hatred for my good towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admits my return to the Port whence I set out, nor my making any other, with that safetie and Honour which I designed.

'Tis easie for thee to keep me safe in the love and confidence of my people, nor is it hard for thee to preserve me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon me, as to be able to pervert and abuse my acts of greatest indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from me can make others more gulltie than my self may be, if misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on me.

I beseech thee give me and them such repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happier, as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon my offences against thee.

So although for my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may be happie to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

6 Upon his Majesties retirement from Westminster.

With what willingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge, who unprovided of racking and victual are forced to Sea by a storm; yet better do so, than venture splitting or sinking on a Lee-shore.

I stayed at *White-hall*, till I was driven away by shame more than fear; to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults; who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either my self, or the Members of Parliament, the Libertie of our Reason and Conscience to denie them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression my case alone, (though chiefly mine) for the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own Freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to my Judgement; nor can they include, or carrie with them my consent whom they represent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses than I see them agree with the will of God, with my just Rights, as a King, and the general good of my People. I see that as many men they are seldom of one mind; and I may oft see, that the *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate minds, how desirous I was to give all just content when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all, if some mens Hydropick insatiablenes had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they drank;

whom

whom no fountain of Royal bounty was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Counsel, when not Reason used as to men to persuade; but force and terror as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to what ever tumultuary Patroness shall project. He deserves to be a slave without Pitié, or Redemption, that is content to have the rational Sovereignty of his soul, and liberty of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that Freedom; which cannot be denied me as a King, because it belongs to me as a man and a Christian; owning the dictates of one, but God to be above me, as obliging me to consent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which subjects me onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs me, than live with the Title of a King if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer me to use my Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation-Oath: in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs infer; while denying me any power of a Negative Voice as a King they are not ashamed to seek to deprive me of the liberty of using my Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny whatever my self, as King, or the House of Peers with me should, not so much desire as enjoin them to passe. I think my Oath fully discharged in that point by my Governing onely by such Laws, as my People with the House of Peers have chosen and my self have consented to. I shall never think my self conscientiously tied to go as oft against my Conscience, as I should consent to such new proposals,

which my Reason, in Justice, Honour and Religion bids me denie.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being Subject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurditie they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left him, to use his own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if my dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of error, opinionativeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call obstinacie in me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on my mind,) yet can no man think it other than the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence to have the mist of his Error and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and Faithfully follows what he takes for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star; it can be no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in assistance of meer force to carrie on the weakness of their Counsels, and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightness of my heart, protest before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to me by the two Houses, further than I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please me more, than when my Judgement so concurred with theirs, that

that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea in many things were not absolute and morall necessitie of Reason, but temporarie convenience on point of Honour was to be considered, I chose rather to denie my self than them, as preferring that which they thought necessary for my Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for my self.

For I can be content to recede much from my own Interests, and personal Rights, of which I conceive my self to be Master; but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, together with the general good of my Kingdoms: (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in me) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute; nor shall any man gain my consent to that wherein my heart gives my tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in my Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, than to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of lead whose embased flexiblenesse shall be forced to bend and comply to the various, and oft contrarie dictates of any Factions; when in stead of Reason, and Publick concerns, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, than to prefer his Conscience before his Kingdom.

O My God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rational and Religious Freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wils to thine, whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguid us, and so far to denie our carnal reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries, and Commands, that we should believe and obey rather than dispute them; yet dost thou expect

from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee against our consciences; and as to do the desires of men, enjoinest us to trie things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws, which are the Rules of Civil Justice, and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to denie my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposals.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuarie violence of some mens immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerate and unmanly slavery, which should make me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my Conscience to be against thy glory, the good of my Subjects, and the discharge of mine own Dutie in Reason and Justice.

Make me willingly to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon me, rather than commit the least sin against my Conscience.

Let the just Liberties of my People be (as well they may) preserved in fair and equal wayes without the slavery of my soul.

Thou that hast invested me by thy favour, in the power of a Christian King, suffer me not to subject my Reason to other mens passions and designs, which to me seem unreasonable, unjust and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the uprightness of my heart, though I cannot satisfie their men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Justice; for these, I know, will bring me at last to peace and happiness with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours sake.

7 Upon the Queens Departure, and
absence out of England.



Although I have much
cause to be troubled
at my Wives Depart-
ture from me, and out
of my Dominions; yet
not her absence so
much, as the scandal
of that necessitie,
which drives her a-
way doth afflict me.
That she should be
compelled by mine

own Subjects, and those pretending to be Prote-
stants, to withdraw for her safety: This being the
first example of any Protestant Subjects that have
taken up Arms against their King a Protestant:
For I look upon this done in *England*, as another
Act of the same Tragedie which was lately begun
in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill
quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear
such motions (so little to the adorning of the Pro-
testant Profession) may occasion a further alienation
of mind and divorce of affections in her from that
Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we
differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time
take away; and not suffer these practices, to be any
obstruction to her Judgement; since it is the mo-
tion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet
to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Go-
vernment, and good manners, and so not to be
imputed to the true *English* Protestants, who con-
tinue firm to their former settled Principles & Laws.

I am sorry my Relation to so deserving a Lady,
should be any occasion of her danger & affliction,
whose merits would have served her for a prote-
ction among the savage *Indians*; while their rude-
ness and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate
all virtues as some mens subtilty doth, among
whom

whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate her for her self. The fault is that she is my Wife.

All Justice then as well as affection commands me to study her Security, who is onely in danger for my sake: I am content to be tossed, wheather beaten and ship-wracked, so as she may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safetie in the midst of my Personal Dangers, that I can perish but half, if she be preserved: In whose memorie, and hopefull Posteritie, I may yet survive the malice of mine Enemies, although they should be satiated with my Bloud.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of my good Subjects, and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to Them by those who in all Dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyaltie: Nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitie so noble and peacefull a Soul should see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of Justice, with inhuminitie, and impudence.

Her sympathie with me in my afflictions, will make her virtues shine with greater lustre: as stars in the darkest nights; and assure the envious world, that she loves me, not my Fortunes.

Neither of Us but can easily forgive, since we do not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generalitie, and Vulgar, for we see God is pleased to trie both our patiences, by the most self-punishing sin, the Ingratitude of those, who have eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bounty, have scornfully lift up themselves against Us, and those of our own Household are become our Enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge: who think to satis-

fit all Obligations to Duty by their Corban of Religion: and can lesse endure to see, than to sin against the benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policy of my enemies is so far venial as it was necessary to their designs, by scandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive her out of my Kingdoms, left by the influence of her example, eminent for Love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their Love and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and my own Heart, whence no malice can banish her, my enemies may envy, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy my self.

THOU O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy Mercy in thy due time reunite us on earth, if it be thy will, however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies: and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporall infelicity) yet Lord give and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, find, and to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldest have us to know in order to thy glory, our publick relations, and our souls eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be know, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandal of those my Subjects which professe the same Religion with me, be any hinderance to her love of any Truth thou wouldest have her to learn, or any hardening of her in any error thou wouldest have cleared to her.

Let

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the Poison of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be presented to her judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity and Peaceableness, which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine, that she may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all these holy duties, which most agree with his holy Doctrine and most imitable example.

The experience we have of vanity, and uncertainty of all humane glory, and greatnesse in our scatterings and eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8 Upon His Majesties repulse at Hull, & the fates of the Hothams.



Y repulse at Hull, seemed at the first view an act of so rude Disloyalty, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was my first overt Essay to be made: how patiently I could bear the loss of my Kingdoms.

God knows, it afflicted me more, with shame and sorrow for others, than with anger for my self.

self: nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effcontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darknesse.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun than not carried on, for they think the retreat more dangerous than the assault; and hate repentance more than perseverance in a fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smother than oyl, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it my best policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing, unbecoming my self, or unlutable to that temper, which in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed I desire alwayes more to remember I am a Chrastian, than a King, for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Chrastian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excessse injures a man more than his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which other wayes cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged my cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproched, unthreatened, uncursed, by any language or secret imprecation of mine, onely blasted with the Conscience of his own wickednesse, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after payes his own and his eldest sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men from whom surely he might have expected another reward than thus to divide their heads from their bodies; whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they who employed them at first in so high a service, and so successfull to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them; For, Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn: the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Commonwealth. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was far from rejoycing in the *Hothams* ruin; (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against me) that I so far pitied him as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, than I hope many other men do in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowernesse, which some men pretend to; in matters of Religion, which so darkens their judgement, that they cannot see any thing of Sin
and

and Rebellion in those means they use, with intents to reform to their Models; what they call Religion, who think all is gold of Pietie, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeal & Fervency.

Sir *John Hosham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those down right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pitie him, is, that after he began to have some Inclinations towards a repentance for his Sin, and Reparation of his Dutie to me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not my Mercie, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unprosperous Disloyalty, teaching the World by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign, carries alwayes its own vengeance, as an unseperable shadow with it; and those oft prove the most fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Employers in the service.

Aftertimes will dispute it, whether *Hosham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though 'tis certain, that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy actions; which besides the Conscience of the sin, brands, with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to Posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the Times, have the most impartial Reflections on the Actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it, for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not
by

by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more than the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down, on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my Cause: even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, So let mine Enemies perish, O Lord; yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my Mercy, yea let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majesty, which, I hope, thy Mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation: but to their consciences for amendment. Let the lighrening of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sins, who know not they have done amiss, and scare them from their sin that sin of malicious wickedness.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the throne of thy servant in mercy and truth, meeting together; let my Crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hast prevented us with assurances of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucify him.

9 Upon the lifting, and raising Armies against the KING.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced me to leave *White-hall*: what Tumults could not do, an Armie must, which is but Tumults lifted and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recess hath given them confidence that I may be Conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knows is little or none at all. But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling me: here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more than man: and to love the inward peace of my Conscience before any outward tranquillitie.

And must I be opposed with Force, because they have not Reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage; they confesse their known weaknesse, as to Truth, and Justice, who chuse rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed: and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious King but by my sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that loves his People and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of my most flourishing Kingdom: the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years living and reigning among them, with such measure of Justice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape, rather through ill counsel of some men, driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others envying the Publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable

perable necessities of State, than any propensity I hope, of my self either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during my Reign have I shed to satisfie my lust, anger, or covetousness? What Widows or Orphans tears can witness against me the just crie of which must now be avenged with my own blood? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Canon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is my Person excepted by a *Paraphrase* of words, when so many hands are armed against me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alledged for this War against me; so that I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion; which (to many men) seems rather the productions of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonness of Minds, or of private Discontents, Ambition, and Faction, (which easily find, or make cause of quarrel) than any real obstructions of publick Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in mine own Conscience, however some men are not willing to believe me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allay the Insolencie of the Tumults, the not suppressing of which, no account in Reason can be given (where an orderly Guard was granted, but onely to oppresse both mine and the two Houses Freedom of Declaring and Voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further than this, that what seemed just to one man might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their Trial, (warned by my Lord of *Straffords* death) while the Vulgar threatened to be their Oppressours, and Judges of their Judges

was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves, If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble; that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with libertie and safetie, it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man when the sole exposing them to publick odium was enough to ruin them, before their Cause could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conscience, I know no man so dear to me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons; to whose Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject is bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar Insolencies; that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and Demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-awed with the Tumults and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their suffrages, or presence, the Designs of those men who agitated Innovations, and ruin, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancie and cautioussnesse; further than this I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses, to whom I wished nothing more, than Safetie, Fulnesse, and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes by free Deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the *major* part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activitie of factious Tumults) to sift and terifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops joining their ancient Places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the *major* part of Lords? Yet after five repulses contrary to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuary instigations obruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary clamours and schismatical Terrours, which could never passe till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reason Justice and Religion, my Conscience forbids me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Armie, and constrained either to hazard my own, and my Kingdoms ruin by my Defence, or prostrate my Conscience to the blind obedience of those men, whose zealous Superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, than utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolical, and anciently Universal Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it: mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in my judgement, have also a most strict and indispensible Oath upon my Conscience to preserve the Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorrid Perjurie, most unbefitting a Christian King, should I ever by giving my consent be betrayed: I should account it infinitely greater miserie, than any hath or can befall me; in as much as the least sin hath more evil in it, than the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Episcopal Faction at first in this point, with my consent and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Government and Revenues, to the furie of their covetousness, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have

have found no colourable necessitie of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednesse to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour, for my sake, and the Common-weale, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather than occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot adde my consent to the total extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon my Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolical; and so very sacred and Divine, as not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civil Favour, and Priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of to make a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason and Religion, had made in my own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence; but those could not be the first occasions of raising an Army against me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load me with all the envie & injuries of first assaulting them) (when as God knows I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the Libertie of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either house might with Honour and Freedom, becoming such

a Senate, have come and discharged their Offices, I had obtained all that I desired by my withdrawing; and had much more willingly, and speedily returned than I retired; this being my necessary driving, the other my choice firing.

But some men knew, I was as like to bring the same judgement and constancie, which I carried with me, which would never fit their designs, and so while they invited me to come, and grievously complained of my absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular project of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: which all that while they never punished the grossest and most intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drove my self, and so many of both Houses from their places by so barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and honour, they were as loth to have defended as those others were willing they should, that they might have occasion to persecute them for the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an army against me, is by the equal so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appease them, there was nothing of consequence offered to me or demanded of me, as any original difference in a point of Law, or order of Justice. But, and other lesser Invocations, this chiefly was against The Abolition of Episcopacy, and the establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by me, and onely to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequential and accessory, after the War was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, what the noise and shew of pietie, and heat for Reformation and Religion might easily so fill with passion

judice, that all equality and cleareness of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between Us, when they first raised an Army, with this Design, either to stop my mouth, or to force my consent: and in this truth, as to my Conscience, (who was, God knows, as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the World from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate Successes of this War, on my side, I do not think mine Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkened; nor am I without that integrity, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse my prayer to him.

FOr thou, O Lord, see'st clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thine omniscience eternally guides thine unerrable judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set thee before their eyes.

Consider mine Enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For thou knowest I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil my Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation, as knowing I must adventure more than any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witness how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture mine own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better spent to save, than to destroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me, but much more to bear the unjust reproches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the War, I will needs

perswade the world that I have raised firste
ven just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues
such, that they would almost make me in
mine own innocency: yes, I could be content
least by my silence) to take upon me so great
guilt before men, if by that I might allay the
lice of mine Enemies, and redeem my People
this miserable War, since thou, O Lord, knowest
mine Innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloudie and deceitfull men
many of whom have not lived out half their dayes
in which they promised themselves the enjoyment
of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast
and in thy due time scatter the People that delight
in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy self because of the
of mine enemies, which encreaseth more and more.
Behold them that have conceived mischief, and
valled with iniquitie, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chief design of this War
either to destroy my Person, or force my Judg-
ment, and to make me renege my Conscience
thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse *Dauids* choise, and desire
rather to fall into the hands of men, by despite
them, (though their mercies be cruel) than in
rhine hands by sinning against my Conscience
in that against thee, who art a consuming fire.
Better they destroy me, than thou shouldst
damn me.

Be thou ever the Defence of my Soul, who wilt
save the upright in heart.

If nothing but my Blood will satisfie mine
emies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms
temporal Justice, I am content, if it be thy will
that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But, O let the blood of me, though I be
yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of my
moent and peace making Redeemer; for in
thy Justice will find not onely a temporary
tion, but an eternal plenary satisfaction: be

my sins, and the sins of my People, whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they do.

10 Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navie, and Militia.

How untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civil War, the eyes that onely pitie me, and the Loyal hearts that durst onely pray for me, at first might witness, which yet appear not so many on my side, as there were men in Arms listed against me; my unpreparednesse for a War may well dishearten those that would help me, while it argues (truly) my unwillingnesse to fight, yet it testifies for me that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my self, or to preserve what is mine own from their prereption.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much a fore-hand in their preparations against me, and surprisals of my strength. Such as are not for them, yet dare not be for me, so over-awed is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe my innocencie, and unpreparednesse to assert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guiltie in their esteem, who would not so easily have declared a War against me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew my chiefeft Arms lest me, were those onely, which the ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutours Prayers, and Tears. These may serve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, and surprising my
Castles,

Castles, Forts, Arms, and Navies, with the *Militia* is so far best for me, That it may drive me from putting any trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast my self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisal of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the special support of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to my own protection as my Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve me; I am above my own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power. Thus I shall become a support to my Friends, and a terrour to my Enemies, dy being unable to Succour the one, or Suppress the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to me, the new modelling of Sovereigntie and Kingship, so without any realitie of power, or without any necessitie of subjection and obedience; That the Majestie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetic Charm, between the power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an alery imagination of Regallitie.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth sick both of it and themselves, they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power is Subjects seldom agreeing with the stomachs of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their fears and opportunities, both to secure my Friends, and over-

come mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving my self of a sole power to help, or hurt any: yielding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no lesse than the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealousies in them, of me; and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to my self; I desire not to be safer than I with them and my People: if I had the sole actuall disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People, further then they protected me, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would not defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who, conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught my Subjects, since Power hath been wrested from me, and imployed against me and them, that neither can be safe if both be not in such a way as the Law hath entrusted the publick safetie and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine, as to the exercise of the *Militia*; so vast and large, is not satisfactorie to some men, which seem to be Enemies not to me onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to Posteritie such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessarie Rights, in point of Power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to my Successors forbid me to yield to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civillie and duty (no lesse than justice and Honour) should have forbid them to have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to eclipse mine own beams, to satisfie their fear; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full luster of Kingly Power, where, with God and the Laws have invested me, yet

I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereignie to all Posteritie, and succeeding Kings; whose just recoverie of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of mine; which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to my Subjects: whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions, which must needs follow the many headed Hydra of Government: which, as it makes a shew to the People to have more eyes to force; so they will find it hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrositie than any thing of perfection, beyond that right Monarchie, where Counsel may be in manie as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrors and Malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced darknesse and eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest light from me) they will at length more esteem and welcome the restored glorie and blessing of the Sunlight.

And if at present I may seem by my receding so much from the use of my Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for my Peoples protection; I conceive those men are guiltie of the enforced perjurie, (if so it may seem) who compel me to take this new and strange way of discharging my trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting my Subjects by exposing my self to danger and dishonour, for their safetie and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil War and advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some side yielding, to which the greatest love of the publick Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good Conscience) doth more invite me, than can be expected

ed from other mens fears; which, arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safety, than that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak Defences against the strokes of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Consciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For my self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential necessity is pleased to take from me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity, and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for me: and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compensate to me, as he did to *Job*, whatever Honour, Power, or Liberty the *Caldeans*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himself can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all Defence of Arms and *Militia*, all Refuge by Land, of Forts, and Castles; all flight, by Sea, in my Ships and Navie; yea, though they study to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of mine own Innocencie, or Gods Mercy, nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me than can be against me.

There is none in heaven, or in earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all be thou more than all to me; Make haste to succour me thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But mine eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help; nor shall I, if I may have thine; If not to Conquer, yet at least to Suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperitie, behold here I am willing to be reduced

to what thou wilt have me; whose judgements oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayest be all.

Thou hast taught me that no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side; yet be thou on my side, and I shall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glory of my distress.

O let thy mercie have the glorie of my Deliverance from them that persecute my Soul!

By my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glorie, who am thy Subject, and justly mayest thou, by mine own Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclipse my glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope and onely refuge! Let not mine Enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppress me, from my deadly Enemies that compass me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures of evermore.

II Upon the nineteen Propositions first sent to the KING; and more afterwards.

Although there be many things they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price

price they set mine own Safetie, and my Peoples Peace: which I cannot think to buy at too dear a rate, save onely with the parting with my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as mine Enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to me have been offered by me; Others are easily granted: The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of War; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating my Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of Peace, but by making War upon my Soul.

Here are many things required of me, but I see nothing offered to me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requital of those favours, I have or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do me, to put me on the giving part, which is more Princely and Divine. They cannot ask more than I can give, may I but reserve to my self the incommunicable Jewel of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me: and while I have any mastery of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yielding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples Peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward Peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken mine outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me than my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to bind my self to a general and implicit consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man; nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King by his own Subjects: any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as he doth in place and Power.

This were as if *Samson* should have consented, not onely to bind his own hands & cut off his own hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the Philistines might with the more safety mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do than quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seems an arrogancie, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addressees in an humble and Loyal way of Petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their own inferioritie, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superior thinks fit to give, who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to Consent or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not libertie to deny neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to me in Reason as a Man, and in Honour as a Sovereign King as undoubtredly it doth) how can it be other than extream Injurie to confine my Reason to a necessitie of granting all they have a mind to ask? whose minds may be as differing from mine both in Reason and Honour as their aims may be and their qualities are? which last, God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguished, making us
thet

their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent Oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him; or usurp upon him in Power and Dominions.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representation some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil than their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the counsel of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to any mans dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in my Soul, and the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the Freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part of) these Propounders are; so that till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me; I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own into their hands; whose driving is already too much like *Jehues*: and whose forwardnesse to ascend the Throne of Supremacie, portends more of *Phaeton* than of *Phebus*: God divert the *Omen* if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Dutie.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me I expected either some good Laws, which had been

been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restoration of their vigour and due execution; or some evil customs preter-legal, and abuses personal had been to be removed: or some injuries done by my self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendered to me, wherein the advantages of my Crown being considered, by them, might fairly induce me to condescend, to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of my self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion bind me (in the first place) to preserve: without which, 'tis impossible to preserve my people according to my place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiss in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both: not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the Wisdom and Pietie of former Parliaments, the ancient and universal Practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Not yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and special Pietie, but with pregnant and solid reasons both Divine and Humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessitie of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to the ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-jointed, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any Justice to be unobstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartial Reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at any time in which is either great novelty, or difficulty, I perceive that what were formerly looked upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours: and, assistance (chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main; other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty, of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an exasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses, of the Parliament of *England*; among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the *major* part of both Houses, (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things, the institution and the corruption, the Government and the Misgovernment, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not for all upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the Prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet

Yet by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (believing that all is gold, which is gilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in judgement to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise an abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence and policy, to improve to their innovating Designs, the present Distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in my Judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded with Armies of Soldiers: Though the second should prevail against my Person, yet the first should never overcome me, further than I see cause, for I look not at their Number and Power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their Liverie, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults; (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hallow of those men, who hunt after Factions, and private Desigs, to the ruin of the Church and State.)

Did my Judgement tell me, that the Propositions sent to me were the Results of the *major* part of their Votes: who exercise their Freedom as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect mine own judgement, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wise men among them: and humility to think that, as in some things I may want, so 'tis fit I should use their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a complacence

ness and inerrability as to exclude my self; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as my ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wiſdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their *major number*, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in my two laſt famous Predeceſſours dayes, heaved at, and ſometime threatened both Prince and Parliaments:) But I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the *major* part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and aſſent ſo enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgement.

Nor that I am ignorant that the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countries; ſome thiſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt Deſires of Change, to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them down: If the ſtraightneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Gſmels, as others do
of

of Sacriledge, and injustice both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrel with me, than for this, That my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet, by Gods help I am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any Byas upon my judgement to make me gratifie my will by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Not on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will studie to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for fear or flattery, gratifie any Faction how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me that free and faithful counsel; which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want, yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsel of that mighty Counsellor, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O Thou first and eternal Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy servant first with clear discoveries of Truth Reason and Justice, in my Understanding: then so confirm my wil and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppressions of my Enemies may ever inforce me, against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in my Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse than a Man; and not dare to say, Yes, or Nay, as I see cause, which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of Speech.

Shall that be blamesable in me, which is commendable, veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedom to me their King, which thou hast given to all men; and which

Then.

Themselves Perrinatically challenge to themselves: while they are so tender of the least breach of their Priviledges.

To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals, which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end; thy word my rule; and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee: I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy truth, for thy Honour, my Kingdoms general good, and my owne Souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the Publick of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the Publick good: of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure me.

Thou canst as wel blesse honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since

Since we must give an account of every evil and idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord make me carefull of those solemn declarations of my mind, which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publick, either for wo, or weal.

The lesse others consider what they Ask, make me the more solicitous what I Answer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples pressures are grievous, and Peace would be very pleasing, yet Lord, never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or waste of my Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art more Master than my self.

12 Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed that sea of blood which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and miserie, whom God shall find the malicious Authour or Instigatour of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed: Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to my Self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the *Irish* Rebels did, was done with my privity (at least,) if not by my Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commission, but against my Command and Person too, yet all the while to pretend, they fight

fight by my Authoritie, and for my Safetie.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must need be greater, by how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, than those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of mens intentions excuse the scandal, and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever fall of their dutie toward me. I must bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent Trials, either of my Patience under them, or my Pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquisite malice, they have mixed the gall and vinager of falsitie and contempt, with the cup of Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of losse and dishonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Politic Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least content, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interett lies as much as some mens perturbations: Who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor so cunningly as in laying that *odious* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severitie, which some men carried before them in *England* was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not predisposed fuel of Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despair being added to their former Discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted expressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion,
a people

a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some principles of their Religion, and the natural desires of Libertie both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatened, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own.

God knows, and I can with Truth wash my hands in Innocencie, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England* made most men rather intent to their own safetie, or designs they were driving, than to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or, at least, for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil Dissentions and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously have scattered.

I would to God no man had been lesse affected with *Ireland's* sad estate than my self; I offered to go my self in Person upon that Expedition, But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdom quieted, or loth they were to shoot at any mark here lesse than my self, or that any should have the glorie of my destruction, but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the ruin had been so great, nor the calamitie so long; nor the remedie so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be, who either hindered the speedy suppressing of it by Domestick Dissentions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate Resolutions and Actions, by threatening all extremities not onely to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole Communitie of that Nation;

Nation; Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children, without any regard to those usual pleas for mercie, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to heare from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive fears, rather than their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecillitie for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous, and (I think) unevangelical Zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their revenge than to call for fire from heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all Extremities which might drive men desperate to obstinacie, than to applie moderate Remedies; such as might punish some with exemplary Justice yet disarm others, with tenders of mercie upon their submission, and our protection of them, from the furie of those, who would soon drown them if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kind of Zeal counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmnesse; and had rather be cruel than counted cold, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, than for any harm he hath done. The Confiscation of mens Estates being more beneficial, than the charitie of saving their Lives, or reforming their errors.

When all proportionsble succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred, and overborn with numbers of now desperate Enemies) was diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant partie there, to get them some respite and breathing by a Cessation, without which they saw no probabilitie (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that business, by per-

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persons of Honour and Integrity; that so I might neither encourage the Rebels Insolencie, nor discourage the Protestants Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessitie and difficultie of affairs would then permit, I was then again to suffer in my Reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of the respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safetie; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Ireland's* sad condition more to heart, and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood than to scatch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of my Actions (which are prone to find more credulitie in men to what is false, and evil, than love of charitie to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his Omnisience, who doth not therefore deny mine Innocence, because he is pleased so far to trie my patience, as he did his servant *Jobs*.

I have enough to do to look to mine own Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust as a King; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of Reproches, which issue out of some mens mouths and hearts, as easily as smoke, or sparks do out of a fornace; Much lesse to make much prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth of wickednesse, are loth to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: if I can but ast the one, I shall much regard to bear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience, as bad as my worst Enemies can falsely say. And, I hope

I shall still do better than they desire, or deserve I should.

I beleive it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil mine other Kingdoms, are in great part guiltie; if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever mine Enemies please to say, or think) I look upon, as that of mine other Kingdoms, exhausted out of mine own veins, no man being so much weakened by it, as my self; And I hope, though mens unsatiable Cruelties never will, yet the mercie of God will at length say to his Justice. *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self; his mercifull Justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

O My God, let those infinite Mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve, should be restored.

Thou seest how much crueltie among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion, as if we could not be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in Charitie, thou hast suffered a Spirit of errour and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our Repentance be our Recoverie, as our great sins have been our Ruin.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered seem smal to thee; but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are represented in the glasse of thy judgements; for thou never punishest small failings, with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sins, & remove thy judgements, which are very many, and very heave.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, than
thy

thy Judgements ; and make us more willing to be
penit , than to be relieved ; first give us the peace
penitent Consciences , and then the tranquillity
of united Kingdoms.

In the sea of our Saviours Bloud drown our
and through this red sea of our own bleud , bring
us at last to a state of Pietie . Peace , and Plentie .

As my publick relations to all make me share
all my Subjects sufferings ; so give me such a pre-
sence of them , as becomes a Christian King , and
a loving Father of my People .

Let the scandalous and uniuert reproches cast
on me be as a breath more to kindle my compassion .
Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire
upon their heads to melt them , whose malice
cruel zeal hath kindled , or hindred the quenching
of those flames , which hath so much wasted
three Kingdoms .

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants
Ireland , whom thou hast hitherto preserved :

And lead those in the waies of thy saving Truth
whose Ignorance of Errours have filled them with
rebellious and destructive Principles ; which they
act under an opinion , That they do thee good
service .

Let the hand of thy Justice be against those who
maliciously and despitefully have raised or
mented those cruel and desperate Wars .

Thou that art far from destroying the innocent
with the guiltie , and the erronious with the mal-
licious ; thou that hadst pitie on *Nineveh* for
many children that were there , give not over
whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation
to the wrath of those , whose covetousnesse makes
them cruel ; nor to their anger , which is too fierce
and therefore Justly cursed .

Preserve , if it be thy will , in the midst of
fornace of thy severe justice , a Posterie which
praise thee for thy Mercie ;

And deal with me , not according to many
just reproches , but according to the innocency
my hands in thy sight .

If I have desired or delighted in the world

day of my Kingdoms calamities; if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody Distractions; then let thy hand be against me, and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witness my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knowest right well; But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies; spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13 *Upon the calling in of the Scots, and their coming.*

THe Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bountie, with my Father of blessed memorie; but also special and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed, to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before my own Interest and Honour. But, I see, Royal bounty emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modestie and gratitude.

My charitie, and act of Pacification, forbids me to reflect on former passages, wherein I shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancie make me repent of what I granted them for the Publick good: I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conform this Church to their late new Model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Libertie) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means before the divine Justice, I leave to their consciences to judge, who have already felt the miserie of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they crie up, as the onely just Reformation, and settling of Government and Disciplin in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in Scotland; and was by them imagined would have been done in England, when so many of the English Clergie, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion; suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacie, and faced about to the Presbyterie.

It cannot but seem either Passion, or some false seeking, more than true Zeal, and pious Discretion for any forreign State, or Church, to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, rather successfullly than commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations; That it may kill one, while it doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the English Church, which gentler Applications than those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, than to procure a fair and equal one: For, it was concluded there, that the English Clergie must conform to the Scots Presbyterie, before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the contrary way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings had

for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the field, than Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Surely, in matters of Religion, those truths gain most on mens judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices, and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rational conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance; condemn mens obstinacie to deserved penalties.

Which no charitie will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*, who, being alwayes bred up and conformable to the Government of Episcopacie, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely because that Partie of the *Scots* will needs, by force, assist a like partie here, either to drive all Ministers as Sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie, or destroy them, at least slice them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks. If the *Scots* sole Presbyterie were proved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Governments; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of my Kingdoms, without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles payed to the chief Governours of States, where they lived, is verie clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set such a partie of Presbyters; and such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with much Christian blood; whose effusion runs

in a *Stream* so contrarie to that of the *Primitive Planters*, both of *Christianitie* and *Episcopacie* which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other men; sure there is too much of *Man* in it, to have much of *Christ*, none of whose institutions were carried on or begun with the temptations of *Covetousnesse* or *Ambition*; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point which these *Scots* had by *Armie* or *Committees* to move me with, by their many *Solemn obtestations*, and pious threatenings, but only this; to represent to me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their *Presbyterie* in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a *War*; which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any *Sects*, *Schisms*, or *Heresies*, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunities, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which *Presbyterie* seeks to suppress, and render odious under those names when wise and learned men think that nothing hath more marks of *Schism* and *Sectarism*, than this *Presbyterian* way; both as to the *Antient* and still most *Universal* way of the *Church* Government; and especially as to the particular *Laws* and *Constitutions* of this *English Church* which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I see more *Rational* and *Religious* motives, than *Souldiers* use to carry in their *Knipsacks*.

But we must leave the successe of all to God who hath many wayes (having first taken away from the folly of our opinions, and furious passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom, which is from attending most to Gods glorie, and his Churches good; which I think my self so much thereby bound in Conscience to attend, with the

judicious zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glorie of Christ above mine own, and the salvation of mens souls above the preservation of their bodies and estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches, under my care and tuition, into the molds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved, both my own and other mens Consciences, by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or unsettle my Religion; nor any mans else, who knows what Religion means, and how far it is removed from all Faction; whose proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and Loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their Opinions; especially those that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many Obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: than I wondered, how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more than competently furnished with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition; my Navie by Sea; my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have Humane strength enough to carrie their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People; what cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancie that attends all minds engaged in violent motions, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their assistance, others of them soon after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one party thought to rivet to a settledness by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, despising the Kirk Government, and Discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargeable, more than charitable, assistance: For, had the Church of *England* might have purchased at far cheaper rate, the truth and happinesse of Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, might be more satisfactorie to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods iustice, and mans folly, will at length be discovered, through all the fine and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; In vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruins of Loyalty. No can those confederations or designs be durable when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance under pretence of setting up a quicker trade to Religion.

But, as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from me, in a prodigalitie of their love and respects toward me, as to make me to despair of their return; when, besides the bonds of Nature and Conscience, which they have to me, Reason and true Policie will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to any part of the People, to a neglect and betraying of the Safety and Honour for their own advantage. However the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply my self to God.

THe troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord: bring thou me out of my distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious simplicitie, which is the best policy.

Deliver me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents Subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocencie.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against my Soul, to the betraying of my Conscience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of *Judah* and *Israel*, to restore *David* with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconstancie and cagemesse pursue him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightness in me, and I shall not despair of my Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O my God, I trust in thee, let me not be ashamed: let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute my Soul.

Let integrity and uprightness preserve me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

I 4 Upon the Covenant.

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxillaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemn *League and Covenant*.

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacie, This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, (with some other Imps purposely ad-

ed, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar) must by so solemn a charm and charmism be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and a universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches, since the Apostles times, till the last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbyter like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops chair and Authority (though Lay men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to fix Episcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in England which was lately Boyed up in Scotland by the artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to myself with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants where it is hard for men to be engaged by a lesse, than swearing for, or against those things which are of no clear moral necessity; but very disputable and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with the judgement and certainty in ones self; or the charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses fair and equable deliberations; yet dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoying of Oaths upon People, needs in things doubtfull be dangerous; as things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately

taken to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*; since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politic and seemingly-pious Stratagems, they think to keep the popularity fast to their parties under the terrour of perjury: whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former Ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party, without my consent, or without any like power or precedent from Gods or mans Laws be ever thought, by judicious men, sufficient either to absolve or slaken those moral and eternal Bonds of Duty, which lie upon all my Subjects consciences both to God and me.

Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull wayes: since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in such mens intentions was, to preserve Religion in puritie, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other than such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavour to carry on the best Designs; (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparantly factious and ambitious.) by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unlesse they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized Novelties, before their known and sworn Duties, which are indispensable, both to God and my self.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this Judgement, That such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out those former gravings and characters, which by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by way

of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common Road used in all Factions and powerfull Perturbations of State or Church; Where Formalities of extraordinary Zeal and Pietie are never more studied and elaborate, than, when Politicians most grate desperate Designs against all that is sacred, or sacred in Religion, and Laws; which by secret steps and lesse sensible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humours of those men, who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguise of holy Combinations.

Which cords and wyths will hold mens Consciences no longer, than force attends and twists them: for every man soon grows his own Person and easily absolves himself of those Ties, which are not the Commands of Gods Word, or the Law of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terror of a Partie casts upon him; either superfluous and vain when they were sufficiently tied before, or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after ligaments they find the Imposers really aiming to dissolve, or suspend their former just and necessary Obligations.

Indeed such illegall wayes seldom or never intend the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties, therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though divers or contrary, with any Salvoes, Cautions, and Reservations, so as they crosse not the chief Design, which is laid against the Church and me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Partie; so little we remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to Act clearly against all Pietie and Loyaltie: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruin, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it.

Wherein, the latitude of some general Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings*, and according to the Word of God: for these (indeed) carrie no man beyond those Bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed either in Gods Laws, as to the General; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the Particular Regulation and Exercise of mens Duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull Bounds, to which God hath called them: surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it; which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoin it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such Bounds of Pietie, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, my Self, or the publick Peace: Against which no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partial advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to sudden acting and compliance contrarie to their former judgements, profession, and practice) such foul Scandals and Susptions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of England, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any man of learning.

of Publick Debts: The Occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I nor mine, may be necessary to either.

TO thee, O Lord, do I addresse my prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable Bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingom have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary Practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious Designs to have the countenance of religious Ties.

Thou hast taught Us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious & sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all Posterity of robbing thee & thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treasures are exhausted, my Revenues diminished, and my Debts encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on my Throne and Conscience, as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of Peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue

Continue to those that serve thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That the Priests may be clothed with righteousness, and the Poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, neither digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as *Naboths* Vine-yard to *Ahab* gall in their mouthes, rottenness to their Names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have banded together against the Church and State; that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15 Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the KING, to stir up the People against him.

IF I had not mine own innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for me to stand out against those stratagems and conficts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justice so unjust engagements against me.

And

And indeed the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designs: For I can more willingly lose my Crowns, than my Credit; my are my Kingdoms so dear to me, as my Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with my life, but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false Aspersions were secret Engines at first employed against my Peoples love of me: that undermining their opinion and value of me, mine Enemies, and theirs too, might once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of my Honour is not so afflictive to me, as the sin and danger of my Peoples Souls; whose eyes once blinded with such mists of Suspensions, they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of Actions; wherein they, do not onely not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous Adventures; while I am rendered to them so fit to be destroyed; that many are ambitious to merit the name of my Destroyers; Imagining they thus fear God most, when they least honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but my pity was above mine anger, nor have my passions ever prevailed against me, as to exclude my most compassionate Prayers for them, whom devout Errors more than their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of my Subjects fought against my supposed Errors, not my Person, and intended to Mend me not to End me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared me, both to do him better service, and my People more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyal Injuries, than I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspitions; and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to mine own Affections toward the generality of my People, to suspect theirs to me; nor shal the malice of mine Enemies ever be able to deprive me of the comfort, which that confidence gives me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnessse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens Ambition can do, shal never perswade me, to make so bad interpretations of most of my Subjects Actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the Injuries done to my Subjects is sharp, as some done to my self; our welfares being inseparable, in this onely they suffer more than my self; that they are animated, by some Seducers, to injure at once both themselves and me.

For this is not enough to the malice of mine Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such Instruments, that mine afflictions grieve me not more, than this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been mine open and foreign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be mine own Subjects, who are next to my Children, dear to me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided interest of their and mine Enemies; as by contrary Winds the Storm of their Miseries would be rather increased than allaid.

I had rather prevent my Peoples ruin than Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, wick is but my Right, as of their happiness; if it could explate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest Injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the Miseries of life, &
die

die many deaths, than shamefully to desert, dishonourably to betray mine own just Rights and Sovereignty; thereby to gratifie the ambitious, justifie the malice of mine Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague: or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyalty.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Malicious persons need good Inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy, and what their reproches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and my charity to forgive, than my leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon me.

Did I not more consider my Subjects Satisfaction, than mine own Vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men, that pleasure, as to see me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authours to be punished by their own evil manners, and seared consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals, which they have cast on me; and make the World see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broching of them, or civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation even with the People, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of the furnace of popular oblique, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume my Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave me more cause to suspect, and search mine own Innocency, than when I observed so many forward to engage against me, who had made great professions of singular pietie; For this gave, to Vulgar minds so bad a reflection

upon me and my Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to me, and not withall part from God; to think or speak well of me, and not to BlaspHEME him: so many were perswaded that thesetwo were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyal to me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of my sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with me, than forsake me.

Nor is it strange that so Religious Pretensions as were used against me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used, nor the depth of mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weaknesse of these mens judgements must be made up by their clamours and activitie.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize me and mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more trial of his Grace, as to the constancie of my Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesse in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquitie, will not give my Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon me and my People.

Con-

Contrary to those well tried foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have setled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have often confirmed; In which I shall ever by Gods help persevere, in believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists which were my Subjects, any way fight against my Religion: as some men would needs interpret it: especially to those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they should be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the samenesse of Dutie, Allegiance, and Subjection. The first they owe as men and Christians to God; the second, they owe to me in Common as their King; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civil Trades) take away the Communitie of relations either to parents - or to Princes: And where is there such an *Ogliv* or medley of various Religions in the World again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with me, without any scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinions?)

It was indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their dutie to help me to defend my self.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King in such exigents, to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unreasonable scruple in me (and very pleasing no doubt

doubt to my Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in my Subjects; when I was disputed with by Swords point: and when I needed the help of my Subjects as men no lesse than their prayers as Christians.

The noise of my Evil Counsellours was another usefull device of those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their own, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving me better counsel, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or Honour, as a King; making their counsels more like a drench that must be powred down, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drunk, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties my self, or my Councellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages. yet such as were far more repairable by second and better thoughts, than those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to my Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that my worst Counsellours had the boldnesse to offer me, or my self any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries as some have done, out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either me, or my Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see me prone even to injure my self, out of a Zeal to relive my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon me, my Court, and my Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my, either Retractions, or Concessions, and withal, hath deprived all those (now so zealous per-

Persecutours) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended Persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar, and which indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not be relieved, than be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw my Peoples affections from me to their Designs, was, the noise and ostentation of Libertie, which men are now more prone to desire, than unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the Divinest Libertie be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion, I envie not my Subjects that Libertie, which is all I desire to enjoy my self; So far am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted me so prodigal of their Liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes, to help on the enslaving of themselves and their Posterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their ambitious and covetous Designs over the ruins of Church and State, Prince, Peers and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms than the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth its rule and direction; losing justly his Safetie while he seeks an unreasonable Libertie.

Time will best inform my Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true Libertie, who allow themselves the least licentiousnesse against or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, That it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects Liberties, who have the hardinesse to use their King with so severe restraints; against the Laws, both Divine and Hu-

name; under which, yet, I will rather perish than complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderneſſe (attended with humilitie and meekneſſe, not with proud & arrogant activitie, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Shiſm) I have oft declared, how little I deſire my Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Sovereigntie, which is the onely King of mens conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as command them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men libertie to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further than with meekneſſe and patience they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather than perturb the publick peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatiſſie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtrusting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principal) Impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentiful eſtates they got, and enjoyed under my Government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproches, which impotent malice can invent; and my ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts which may moſt diminith the Maieſtie of a King, and encrease the ingratefull inſolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that as mine innocencie is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object, ſo my Reputation ſhall, like the Sun (after owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendor, as thoſe ſerall birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious than thoſe whom God hath ſuffered to be tried in the fornaſe of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and mercifull God will do me good, ſome mens hard, falſe and

and evil speeches against me : wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and doe to set all places on like flames) than those men who pretending to so much pietie, are so forgetful of their Dutie to God and Me ; By no way vindicating the Majestie of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God and holie Angles, *speake evil of Dignities, and bring railing accusations against those, who are honoured with the name of Gods.*

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing God should not honour their King.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God who reverence not that Supreme, and adorne Majestie in comparison of whom all the glorie Men and Angels is but obscuritie; yet hath bequeathed such Characters of divine Authority, and sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veil be able to hide the shining of my face, while God gives me an heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true Glorie and Majesty.

THou, O Lord, knowest my reproch, and dishonour, mine Adversaries are before thee.

My Soul is among lions, among them thou hast set one fire, even the sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine Enemies reproch me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men bring my glorie into shame? how long shall they bring vanity and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest mine Enemies prevail against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhor both bloud-thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousness to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience, That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may bless them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer *Shimeis* tongue to go unpunished, when by thy judgements on *David* he might seem to justify his disdainfull reproches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these mine Enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers and patience be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evil speaking by well doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me *Dauids* patience, and *Hezekiahs* devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let *Shebas* seditious speeches, *Rabshekahs* railing, and *Shimeis* curling, provoke as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, do thou bless, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my People.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me, from the reproch of them that swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

16 Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, must needs undo whatever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And because matter of Prayer and Devotion God justly bears a great part in Religion; (because the Souls more immediate converse with the divine Majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People than to tell them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Forms of our Past Prayers must be not amended (in what on free and publick advice might seem to be most men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cast aside and abolished; and after manie popular contentions offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their consciences, and the Law of God: it must be crucified by an Ordinance, better to please either those men, who glory in their extemporarie vein and fluency: or others who conscious to their own formalitie in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin in using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, than to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavills and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of pietie to make what private Objections they could against it; especially of Superstition and Idolatry; whereas no doubt the Charge was exactly conformed to the Bible.

of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and Prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsom words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent Actions.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgie (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancie abates nothing of the Excellencie and usefulness.

I could never see any reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of Prayer, since he prayes to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same scriptures, hath the same Duties upon him, and feels the same daily Wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? Our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread*.

Some men, I hear are so impatient not to use in all their Devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely disuse (as too many) but wholly-cast away and condemn the *Lords Prayer*, whose great guilt is, that it is the Warrant and original Pattern of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens Abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of varietie for expressions in publick Prayer, or any sacred Administration, merites a greater brand of sin, than that which they call coldnesse and barrennesse: nor are men in those Novelties

lesse subject to formal and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) that in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame. I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extemporary varieties and very fervently devout in the most wonted Expressions: Nor is God more a God of varieties than of constancie: Nor are constant Formal Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of Prayer, and Devotion, than unprepared and confused varietie to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet and humble use of Ministers gifts, even publick, the better to fit, and excite their own and the Peoples affections to the present occasions, yet I know no necessity why private single abilities should quite juggle out and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and good men, such, as the Composers of the Service-Book were, who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling to compose with serious deliberation, and concurrent advice, such Forms of Prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very Life and Soul of Prayer, and that much pretended Spirit of Prayer) than any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are many times may be seen there, where they make a great noise and stir up the affections, emptinesse, impertinencie, confusion, flatnesse, levitie, obscuritie, and ridiculous repetitions, the senselesse, and sometimes blasphemous Expressions; all these burdened with a most tedious and intolerable length sufficiently convince all men, but those who goe in that Pharisaeick way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent flatterers of themselves, not to have an inward shame of what they do and say, in things of

secr'd a nature before God and the Church, after
 so ridiculous and indeed profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in Duties of
 frequent performance, as Sacramental Administra-
 tions, and the like, which are still the same; Mi-
 nisters must either come to use their own Forms
 constantly, which are not like to be so sound,
 or comprehensive of the nature of the Dutie, as
 Forms of publick compofure; or else they must
 every time affect new Expreffions when the Sub-
 ject is the same; which can hardly be presumed
 in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want
 (many times) much of that completnesse, or or-
 der, and gravitie becoming those Duties, which
 by this means at every celebration to every Mi-
 nisters private infirmities, indispositions, errors,
 disorders, and defects, both for judgement and
 expreffion.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the
 Church unavoidably following every mans seve-
 ral manner of officiating, no doubt first occasion-
 ed the wisdom and pietie of the ancient Church-
 es, to remedie those mischiefs, by the use of con-
 stant Liturgies of publick compofure.

The want of which I believe this Church will
 sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many
 mens ungoverned ignorance and confident de-
 fects shall be discovered in more errors, schismes,
 disorders and uncharitable Divisions in Reli-
 gion, which are already but too many, the more is
 the pitie.

However, if violence must needs bring in and
 abet those Innovations, (that men may not seem
 to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason and
 Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as
 wholly to juttle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and
 partial severitie of those men, who either lately
 had subscribed to, used and maintained the Ser-
 vice Book; or refused to use it, cried out of the
 rigour of Laws and Bishops which suffered them
 not to use the Liberty of their Conscience, in not
 using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgie into a Directorie, as if the Spirit needed help for invention though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not so much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to, fit words: So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severitie not to suffer without penaltie, any to use the Common-Prayer-Book publickly, although their Consciences bind them to it, as a Dutie of Piety to God, and obedience to the Laws. Thus I see no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous Actours upon others to conform to their illegal Novelties than such whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of Lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humours most pretended conscientious Libertines, which Freedom, with much regret they now allow me, and my Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve me, whose abilities, even in this extemporary way comes not short of the others, but their modestie and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, that some men knew it would not bear learned and sober Debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to displease some Faction of the People by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended many considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety than those are, whose weaknesse or giddinesse they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest Faults some men found in the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe was this. That it taught them to pray so oft for me; in which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say, *Amen*; nor yet Charity enough to

bear Reproches, and even Cursing of me in their own Forms in stead of Praying for me.

I with their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that, seeing the Mischiefs which disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to set Forms of sound and wholsom words.

AND thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancie; thou deniest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants; nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefits of thy Churches united and well advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our Prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwayes the same, and the fervencie of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us;

And then we doubt not but thy spiritual perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious Constancie of our Petitions in them both.

Whose Variety or Constancie thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but leste them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their Judgements in matters of Religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor the Opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Errours consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with Errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and

order, under this fallacie, that constancie is the cause of formality.

Lord keep us from formal hypocrisie in our hearts, and then we know that praying to thee praising of thee with *David* (and other holy men in the same form cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeal, and over-bold devotion.

17 Of the Differences between the KING and the two Houses in point of Church-government.

VIDEI DEFENSORIS.



Touching Government of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it not so much out of Pietie, as Politie, and reason of State.

Wherein so far is deed reason of State

doth induce me to approve & Government above any other, as I find it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless he hath such dependance on him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues, who with the Keyes of Heaven have so far the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by the Opportunity to let in, or shut out both Peace and Loyalty.

So that being (as a KING) intrusted by God with the Laws, with the good both of Church & State, I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which by right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was

insufficient

sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House: who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both my Judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture-grounds, and also the constant practice of all Christian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuariness of People, or the factiousness and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousness of some States and Princes gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models and proposed them under specious titles of *Christ's Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give me leave having none of their temptations to invite me to alter the Government of Bishops (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrarie to the full and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiassed men, that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charity, be supposed, that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their Divine and holy Pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years not one Example can be produced of any settled Church wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishops above them under whose Jurisdiction and Government they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture directions and examples, as are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, for the settling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession, (the want of Go-

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Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture directions and examples, as are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, for the setting of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession, (the want of Go-

vernment being that, which the Church cannot more dispense with, in point of well being, than the want of the Word and Sacraments in point of being)

I wonder how men came to look with so various an eye upon Bishops Power and Authority as to oversee both the Ecclesiastical use of them and Apostolical constitution: which to me seems no less evidently set forth as to the main scope and design of those epistles, for the setting out a peculiar Office, Power and Authority in them a President-Bishops above others in point of Ordination, Censures, and other Acts of Ecclesiastical Discipline, than those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyters, Bishops and Deacons are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and Community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Bishops*; as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles or those Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in the ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (of a *Messenger* or *one sent*) to that special dignity which hath extraordinary call, mission, gifts and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, untill Use, (the great arbitrator of words, and Master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons, whose power and office indeed were distinct from and above all other in the Church, succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of Governing the Churches, the Honour of (whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches submitting to that special Authority, appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancy, to those, who were by Apo-

Apollical propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of Governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose special Power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopal claim, as from Divine right) than are the characters of these perilous times and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound doctrine, and clear testimonies of all Churches practice, are most perverse Disputers and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytours and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the Power of Godliness.

Who, by popular heaps of weak light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overlay and smother the pregnancy and Authority of that Power of Episcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and Vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture Canons, and Ecclesiastical examples, whereon my judgement was stated for Episcopal Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed me: who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to me as to recompence the injuries and losses, I, and my dearest Relations with my Kingdoms, have sustained, and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the best Rule, and the Churches Universal practice the best Commentary, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot

be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity, than it is in all secular and civil Governments, where parity breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that such order is consistent with true Religion than good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should either forbid them among Christian Ministers, who have as much of the Principles of schism and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolical wisdom (which was Divine) after that Christians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve Order and Union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used and enjoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Providence and Authority in one man, by the joint Counsel and Consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those errors, corruptions, and partialities, which are incident to any one man; also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men, besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and odium of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders; and indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, than such a form of Government which is Paternal, not Magisterial; and wherein not only the necessity of avoiding Per-

tion and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function: but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to employ them, in reference to those abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of mine touching Episcopacie, any preoccupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie my self in what the chief Patrons for other waies can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as far lesse of Scripture-grounds, and of Reason, so for examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute wherein the whole stream runs, so for Episcopacie, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late Reformed Churches (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuseth than commendeth for their inconformitie to all Antiquitie, I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and Governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather than to the Catholick example of all ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more than Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in my three Kingdoms lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charitie, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) here to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handful of some Protestants) so great a scandal in point of Church-Government: whom though you shall never Perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick,

Primi-

Primitive, and Apostolical : So far, that never Schismatics, nor Hereticks (except those Arrians) have strayed from the Unity and Conformity of the Church in that point : ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of my Judgement ; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their noveltie ; I cannot in charitie so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did ; or that they did conform contrary to their Conscience ; so that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-Government had any face and impartial debate, contrary to their former Oaths and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against my consent, have not onely quitecried down the Government by Bishops ; but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops ; and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses : So great a power hath the Stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over sound mens judgements ; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scotts* Army coming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the desertours of Episcopacy will appear the greatest enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest : for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People and Princes, as Plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcase they are.

are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon Function, the faults of times or persons, which seditious and popular principle, and practice, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authoritie, Civil Honour and Estate, which any Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countreys have annexed to Bishops and Churchmen, I look upon them; but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their virtues, so much as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanness exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which persecuting times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, and be ablest to use them: If at any time my Judgement of men failed, my good intention made my error venial: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect which (besides an innate principle of vicious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian party, which makes all Ministers equal; and the Independent in-

inferiouritie, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for my Judgement touching Episcopacy: wherein God knows, I do not gratifie any desire or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world: whether it be just for Subjects or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force me their KING and Sovereign, as some men have endeavoured to do, against all their grounds of my Judgement, to consent to their weak and divided Novelties. The greatest Pretender of them desires not more than I do, That the Church should be Governed as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy and solitude; when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a City or Country; or else they deny these most evident Truths. That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being necessary for the Churches well-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons, since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy, and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blown up some mens minds against it; that what they want of Reasons of Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression, wherein some mens zeal for Bishop-Land, Houses, and Revenues, hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to me is no lesse sin, than Sacrilege.

or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to my particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am sworn; How can any man that wisheth not my damnation, perswade me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacrilege and Perjury? besides the many personall Injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them: and they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Lively-hoods.

I have often wondered how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell me, that my Coronation-Oath binds me to consent to whatsoever they shall propound to me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious Freedom which every man ought to preserve; and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs perswade me, That I must, and ought to dispense with, and roundly break that part of my Oath, which binds me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange my Oath should be vallid in that part, which both my self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and un-

reasonable, as being against the very natural essential liberty of our souls; yet it should be valid, and to be broken in another clause, when in I think my self justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly I have been held long, by some mens ambitious Coverousness, Sacrilegious cruelty; torturing (with me) both Church and State, in civil dissensions, till I shall be forced, to consent, and declare that I approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in my soul abhor; as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion; and wherein I should shamefully, and dishonourably give consent, yet should I not by so doing, stir up the divided interest and Opinions of the Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against me and Episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the Scots point of Church-Government be rightly objected against me, as an inducement for me to consent to the like in my other Kingdoms: For it should be considered, that Episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor 'I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for, what I think in my judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute my yielding to them, as a failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it, but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point. Nor indeed hath my yielding to them been so happy and successfull as to encourage me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as of Meekness, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other *modes* of Government, I might suspect my judgement to be biased, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontedness of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the *manner* of those men, that I cannot from them

gain the least reputation for their new wales of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) either Learning, or Religion, works of Pietie or Charitie, have so flourished, beyond what they have done in my Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make me believe either Presbyterie or Independencie have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacie in its right constitution.

The abuses of which deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and uniform Antiquitie, than to complie with divided Novelty.

A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with tyrannie, partialitie nor popularities, neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integritie both of my Judgement, and Conscience, I hope, God will preserve me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse, and tenderneſſe: as thou haſt ſet me to be a *Defender of the Faith*, and a *Protectour of thy Church*, ſo ſuffer me not, by any violence, to be overthrowne againſt my Conſcience.

Ariſe, O Lord, maintain thine own Cauſe; let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been retained in pureſt and Primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the Object of Secular Envie; which ſeeks to rob it of all the Incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritane, compaſſionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church, which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard, either to pitie, or relief.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And

And though I am not suffered to be Master of my other Rights as a KING, yet preserve in that libertie of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.

Preserve, from Sacrilegious Invasions, the temporal blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on the Church for thy glorie.

Forgive their sins and errours, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wild Boar and subtil Foxes, to waste and deform thy Vine yard: which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of heaven so long watered to an happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all posteritie of being the first Christian KING in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it, whose errours I would rather with *Constantine*, cover with silence, and reform with meeknesse, than expose the Persons and sacred Functions to vulgar Contempts.

Thou O Lord, seeft how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church: make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me and it, from unreasonable men, whose Counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent Confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of the Churches Peace, thereby letting in all manner of Errours, Schismes, and Disorders.

O thou God of Order, and of Truth, in this good time, abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous Devices of thine and mine, and the Churches Enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy Salvation even before the sons of men.

18 Upon Uxbridge-Treatie, and other Offers made by the KING.

Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring
from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men ;
whose strength will be more in their understand-
ings than in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities
to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or dispo-
sition to it : having greater confidence of my Rea-
son, than my Sword ; I was so wholly resolved to
yield to the first, that I thought: neither my self,
nor others should need to use the second, if once
we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me, to
prevent them with Expresses of my Desires, and
even Importunities to Treat : It being an office,
not onely of humanitie, rather to use Reason than
Force: but also of Christianitie to seek Peace and
ensue it.

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend
my self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced
any thing tending to Peace.

The Events of all War by the Sword being ve-
ry dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable ;
the end hardly recompensing and late repairing
the mischief of the means.

Nor did say Successe I had, ever enhance
with me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by
me as any man ; though I was like to Pay dearer
for it than any man : All that I sought to reserve
was, mine Honour, and my Conscience ; the one I
could not part with as a KING, the other as a
Christian.

The Treatie at Uxbridge gave the fairest Hopes
of any happy Composure : had others applied
themselves to it with the same moderation I did, I
am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason,
Honour, and Conscience would give me leave :
not

nor were the remaining Differences so essential to my Peoples happinesse, or of such consequence as in the least kind to have hindered my Subjects either securitie, or prosperitie; for they better enjoyed both, many years, before ever those Demands were made, some of which: to deny I think the greatest justice to my self, and favour to my Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, and are raised: some men are more afraid to remove from violent Engagements, than to Engage where is wanting in equitie, must be made up in prudence. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in War: studied to render the very name of Peace odious and suspected.

In Church affairs, where I had least liberty of Prudence, having so many strict Ties of Conscience upon me; yet I was willing to conform so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom Faction, Covetousnesse, or Superstition had not engaged more, than any true Zeal, Charitie, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might tend to advance true Pietie; I sought onely to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Moderation, and Authoritie to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set down my thoughts more fully) is agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection, also to the Primitive Apostolical Patterns, and the practice of the Universal Church conformable thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to follow some mens wils and fantasies which yet agree among themselves in any point: but that of respecting Episcopacie, and fighting against me, needs argue such a softnesse and infirmities of mind in me as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Peace, and rather lose the Churches Honour, than crosse mens Factions humours.

God knows and time will discover, who were most too blame for the un-successfulnesse of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I beleeeve, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of Peace to my People; than the Preservation of my own Crowns to my Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings, as arguments of feeblenesse, & glory most in an unflexible stiffness when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxim with them was alwayes to ask something, which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make me to destroy my self by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the lesse to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see how little I would deny, or they grant in order to the publick Peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restivenesse, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to Concessions or Negations of mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refused.

The highest tide of successe set me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any sign of true valour, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather than be drawn to produce our own Reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made me for the most part preface the unsuccessfullnesse of any Treaty, was some mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonablenesse they were loth to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be asked by Souldiers, than by Counsellours.

I pray, God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking: and give them grace to make their advantages, gotten by the Swearing, better opportunity to use such moderation as then wanting; that so though Peace were for a time justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou that art the God of Reason & of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with sinners promising them with offers of atonement, and bidding them to be reconciled with thy self: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; who aboundest in mercie to save: soften our hearts in the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for peace, but when I speak thereof, they make ready for war.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves and of others.

Clear up our understandings to see thy Truth both in Reason, as Men: and in Religion, as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit; in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of war we have deserved, and bestow upon us peace which onely Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

19 Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats

THE various successes of this unhappy War, at least, afforded the variety of good meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try me with Victorie, by worsting my enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanksgiving to own, and use his power, who is the only

Lord of Hosts; able when he pleases to repress, the confidence of those, who fought against me with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part, he let me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause: and those that were with me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and me: Nor were my enemies lesse punished by that prosperitie, which hardened them to continue that justice by open hostility, which was begun by riotous and unparliamentarie Tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft times over balance the Justice of Publick engagement; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the Worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause, The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glorie.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any cause, nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their justification, the Word of God & the Laws of the Land, together with their own oaths, requiring obedience to my just commands, but to none other under Heaven without me, or against me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fear, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State; being such imaginarie Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being my Subjects: were manifestly the first assaulters of me and the Laws: first by suppressed Tumults, after by lifted Forces.

I pray, God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking: and give them grace to make their advantages, gotten by the Sword, better opportunity to use such moderation as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for a time justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

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I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any cause, nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their justification, the Word of God & the Laws of the Land, together with their own oaths, all requiring obedience to my just commands, but to none other under Heaven without me, or against me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fear, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State; being such imaginarie Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being my Subjects: were manifestly the first assaulters of me and the Laws: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by lifted Forces.

The same Allegations they use will fit any faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their demands against the present Laws and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them, to a Rebellion against them; some parasitick Preachers have dared to call these Martyrs, who died fighting against me, the Law, their Oaths; and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Truth can with Truth be applied onely to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duties above all these particulars before their lives; and all that was dear to them in this world; who, having no advantageous designs by any Innovation, were Religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and my self, which lay upon their souls both for obedience, and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did, through his mercie, crown many of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being Sanctified, as a means to save their Souls.

Their wounds, and Temporal ruin serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death through Gods grace, effectually disposing their hearts so such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which, together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life than that, which their enemies brutality and disloyal fiercenesse could deprive them of without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against my side in the Field; but never, I believe, at the Bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Conscience, where they are more afraid to encounter those of my pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which confront them; and accuse them in their own thoughts, than they oft were, in a desperate braverie to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question: but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duties, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) than the most triumphant glories, wherein their and mine enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences doe pursue them, especially since they and all the World have seen: how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War; and continuing it thus long against me, and the Laws established, in whose safety and preservation, all honest men think the welfare of their Countrey doth consist.

For and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, than to prosper in their ruin and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on my side might joyn true Pietie with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own souls as they were to me. That the defects of the one might not blait the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews or truth of pietie on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loyalty to me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for me.

I never had any Victorie which was without my sorrow: because it was on mine own Subjects, who, like *Absalom*, died many of them in their fight. And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made me despair of Gods mercie and defence.

I never desired such Victories as might serve to Conquer, but onely Restore the Laws and Liberties of my People; which I saw were extreemly oppressed; together with my Rights, by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When providence gave me, or denied me Victory, my desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War than to bring my Enemies to moderation, and my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over my self. When the first was denied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice, by contrarie winds to winnow us. That by punishing our sins he might purge them from us: and by deferring Peace he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in War: as my former Concessions sufficiently testified how willingly I would have prevented it; and my total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The Conscience of my Innocence forbade me to fear a War; but the love of my Kingdoms commanded me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guiltie in this War of nothing, but that I gave such advantages to some men by confirming their Power, which they knew how to use with that modesty, and gratitude, which brought them their Loyaltie and my Confidence.

Had I yielded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of the unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine Justice to be quiet, we having conquered his patience, are condemned by our conquerings, to destroy one another: for the prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

Those victories are still miserable, that leave our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desireable, till Repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of the Civil Wars: that I may know better to obey God, and Govern my People; and they may learn better to obey both God and me.

Nor doe I desire any man should be further subject to me, than all of us may be subject to God.

O My God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victorie over my self and Enemies by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of pietie thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength thou with-drawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayest have the glorie when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knowest how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel me to inflict upon them, punishing my self in their punishments.

Since therefore, both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a sufferer; I beseech thee give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may be not onely happy to see an end

of these civil distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm, and blessed peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and self denial, as becomes those, who consider that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good man's chiefest interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War, so for the sins of War thou shouldest see fit still to deny us the blessing of Peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy servants, and all Loyal, though afflicted subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects which with infinite unwillingness and grief hath been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that precious blood which hath been shed for me, by my great Peacemaker Jesus Christ.

Who will, I trust, redeem me shortly out of all my troubles: I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20 Upon the Reformation of the times.

NO Glorie is more to be envied than that due Reforming either Church or State, whose deformities are such that the perturbation, and noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of re-forming.

Although God should not Honour me so far as to make me an instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliament's intentions to Reform what the indulgence

Times, and corruption of manners might have de-
 praved; so I am sorry to see, after the freedom of
 Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed,
 how little regard was had to the good Laws esta-
 blished, and the Religion settled; which ought to
 be the first rule and standard of Reforming: with
 how much partialitie, and popular compliance, the
 Passions and Opinions of men have been gratified,
 to the detriment of the Publick; and the infinite
 scandal of the reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Govern-
 ment, in the Church; what novelties of Schism,
 and corrupt Opinions; what undecencies and
 confusions in sacred Administrations; what sacri-
 legious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues
 of the Church; what contempt and oppressions of
 the Clergie; what injurious diminutions and
 persecutings of me, have followed (as showers do
 warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober
 men are Witnesse, and with my self sad Specta-
 tors hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular
 clamours and furie, have been allowed the repu-
 tation of Zeal, & the publick sense so, that the stu-
 dy to please some Patties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are sure
 the best tempers of reforming Councils and en-
 deavours; what is acted by Factions cannot but
 offend more, than it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church
 affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a
 Synod or Convocation rightly chosen, the results
 of whose counsels as they would have included
 the Votes of all, so it's like they would have given
 most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two
 Houses have applied (in an unwonted way) to ad-
 vise of Church affairs, I dislike not further, than
 that they are not legally convened and chosen;
 nor Act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*;
 nor with freedom and impartialitie can do any
 thing, being limited and confined, if not over-
 awed, to do, and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cried up for learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main: would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which they knew to be of Apostolical institution at least, as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the Liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrarie Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without any regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and Honour of all the Clergie, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion against examples of all ancient Churches the Laws in force, and my Consent, which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that, where the Scripture is so clear and punctual in precepts, there the constant and universal practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbyterie what with Reason or discretion it can pretend to in a conjecture with Episcopacie, but for all that wholly to invade the Power and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authority of the ancient order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacie, nor safe for Presbyterie nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels: and such (I believe) as would have given more content even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and formality, to carry on other mens designs which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their illustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular Titles of *Christ's Go-*

VERNMENT

ornaments, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have at least) also the noise of a through Reformation, these may as easily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church windows which time had sufficiently defaced, pulling down of Crosses, which were but civil, not Religious marks; defacing of Monuments, and inscriptions of the dead, which served but to put Posteritie in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light wherein they live; The leaving Ministers to their liberties, and private abilities in the publick service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say, *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of seeming, at least, to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their prayers, preaching, and other offices. The setting forth also of old Catechisms, and Confessions of Faith new dress, importing as much as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before some four or five years consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first principles of Religion.

All these and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babes, very much, but not very long) but all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches through Reformation, since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, than when they began, in point of Pietie, Morallitie, Charitie, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedie the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unani-

mous work, to do Gods work, and not their own. Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War, by the advantages of which they resolved if they prevailed, to make my self and all my Subjects fall down, and worship the Image they should form and set up: If there had been much of Christs Spirit for meeknesse-wisdom and charitie, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing and produced more of Christs Glorie, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion and the Unitie of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of Publick Reformation, to such private designs as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church, cannot subsist with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be set up without pulling down mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs Government will confirm mine, not overthrow it, since as I own mine from him, so I desire to rule for his glorie, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs Government or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill Governed in their words, and actions, both against me and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God by a miracle of mercy, create Light out of Darknesse, Order out of our Confusions, and peace out of our Passions.

THou, O Lord, who onely canst give beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings, in stead of Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own Souls:

That we may in clearnesse of judgement, and uprightness of heart be means to Reform what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord: and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glorie and with thy blessing.

Pitie the deformities, which some rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State, Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravitie of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgements; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations, wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull wayes shalt entrust with so great, good and now most necessarie work. That I and my People may be so blest with inward Pietie, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward Peace.

21 Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of mine enemies could

hardly have expected; so they knew not how with Honour and civilitie to use it : Nor do I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them could tend so much to my reproch, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers : The greatest experiments of Virtue and Noblenesse being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon Us by them, from whom We could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my Papers; The freedom and secrecie in which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more humane than to expose them to publick view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I studie to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those drestes, or popular captations; which some men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my own Rights than to procure their Peace and Happinesse, and that extreame grief to see them both deceived, and destroyed.

Nor can any mans malice be gratified further by my Letters, than to see my constancie to my Word, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poyson.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressuress of my Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who loves me, or the Commonwealth, since my Subjects can hardly be happy, if I be miserable, or enjoy their Peace and Liberties while I am oppressed.

The World may see how some mens desires like *Absaloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences and exasperate all sides to such affronts, as may make all Reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I cannot onely with patience

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bear this as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury my expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit of greater freedom in writing such Letters which may be liable to envious exceptions, yet the Innocencie of my chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more than a happy Composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to my own than my Peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyaltie left in them: who by those my Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act my own, and my Kingdoms affairs, so as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwaies been very loath should be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of Evil Counsellours.

It's probable some men will, now look upon me as my own Counsellour, and having none else to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the libertie of my own Conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivitie to themselves, not allowing me to think their Counsels to be other than good for me, which have so long maintained a War against me.

The Victorie they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glorie among the Vulgar; with whom prosperitie gains the greatest esteem and applause; as advertisement exposeth to their greatest slighting and disrespect: As if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vicious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and de-

depends chiefly upon the reputation with the
gar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their
signs as those that most rout and waste my Crowns
with my People ; in whose hearts they seek by
means to smother and extinguish all sparks of
Love, Respect, and Loyalty to me, that they may
never kindle again, so as to recover mine, the Law
and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men
to overthrow : The taking away of my Credit
but a necessary preparation to the taking away
my Life, and my Kingdoms : First, I must be
neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign ; By
guilte methods of cunning and cruelty I must be
compelled, first to follow the Funerals of my
Honour, and then be destroyed : But I know
Gods un-erring and impartial Justice can, and
will over-rule the most perverse wils and designs
of men ; He is able and (I hope) will turn even
the worst of mine enemies thoughts and actions
my good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of my
Letters, I have lost any more than so many peo-
pers : How much they have lost of that reputa-
tion, for Civillie and Humanite (which ought
to be paid to all men, and most becomes due
as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect
and honour, which they ow to their KING
present, and after times will judge. And I can
not think that their own Consciences are so
pud, as not to inflict upon them some secret
pressions of that shame and dishonour which
attends all unworthy actions, have they not
so much of publick flattery, and popular counte-
nance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divines
probation of such indecent actions if they do but
remember how God blest the modest respect
filial tenderneffe, which Noahs Sons bare to their
Father, nor did his open infirmity justify Chams
impudency, or exempt him from that curse
being *Servant of Servants*, which curse must
needs be on them who seek by dishonorable

to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble
their dependence upon the People.

Not can their malicious intentions be ever ei-
ther excusable, or prosperous; who thought by
his means to expose me, to the highest reproch
and contempt of my People; forgetting that dutie
of modest concealment, which they owed to the
Father of their Countrey, in case they had disco-
vered any real uncomelineffe; which I thank
God they did not; who can, and I believe hath
made me more respected in the hearts of many (as
he did *David*) to whom they thought by publish-
ing my private Letters, to have rendered me as a
Vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered,
under any notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all dispo-
sing providence ordereth the greatest contingences
of humane affairs; make me to see the constancie
of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages
thou seemest to give the malice of mine enemies
against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of *Ahitophel*,
turning it to *David's* good, and his own ruin: so
canst thou defeat their design, who intended by
publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to
render me more odious and contemptible to my
People.

I must first appeal to thy omniscience, who canst
witness with mine integritie, how unjust and
false those scandalous misconstructions are, which
my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine
to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure
they intended thereby against me, so to return
on their own heads, that they may be ashamed,
and covered with their own confusion, as with
a cloak.

Thou seest how mine enemies use all means to
cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and
slander the foot-steps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured
for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and thou know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me the Crown of Christian Patience, which knows how to suffer thee in honour; or dishonour, in good reputation or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodness and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy Excellencies of wisdom, justice, and mercie, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majesty, which becometh the place in which thou hast set me; thou art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord by thy Grace, lead me to thy Glorie, which is both true and eternall.

22 *Upon His Majestie leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.*

Although God hath given me three Kingdoms, yet in these he hath not now left me any place, where I may with Safetie and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, he will have it thus, that I may wholly cast my self: and my now distressed affairs upon his mercie, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What providence denies to Force, it may give to Prudence: Necessitie is now my Counsellor, and commands me to studie my Safetie by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefeft strength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who began my Troubles. Happily God may make this a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of them, may dis-arm and overcome them, my rendering my Person to them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against me; but for me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyaltie: and give them opportunitie to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard, and my Conscience both my Counsellor and my Comforter: Though I put my Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve my Soul to God, and my self; nor shall any necessities compel me, to desert mine Honour, or swerve from my Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusual confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive me of all Militarie power to defend my self; but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in dutie to defend me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the State of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safetie, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those, that have Adhered to me, and apply to those that have opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, than that of War, both to stop the effusion of bloud, and to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no lesse solicitous for my Friends safety, than mine own; chusing to venture my self upon further hazards, rather than expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, than to contest in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce my judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up my Soules Libertie, or make my Conscience their
Cap.

Captive ; who ought at first to have used Arms not Arms, to have perswaded my country to their new demands.

I thank God no successe, darkens or disguises Truth to me ; and I shall lesse conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among Loyall Subjects, full of power.

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think my self weakened while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shal rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope will supply with inward resolutions, not morosely to denie, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reason and Religion bids me denie.

I shall never think my self lesse than my self while I am able thus to preserve the Integritie of my Conscience, the onely Jewel now left me which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercie I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battle, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest afflictions, be also a pillar of cloud to over-shadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perverseness of will, but just perswasions of Honour, Reason and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Person, Peace, and Safetie against those that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces: let a good Conscience always accompanie me in my solitude and desertions.

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Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason & that fortresse of my Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of righteousness, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my wayes to please thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

*23 Upon the Scots delivering
the KING to the English;
and His Captivity at Holm-
bie.*

Y^Et may I justifie those Scots to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of Egypt break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity to which I am now reduced, give me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity, and inconstancie.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black list of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No restraint shall ensnare my Soul in sin, nor
gain

gain that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they got my Person into their power: since my Soul is still my own; nor shall they ever gain my Consent against my Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellours with me, but a good Conscience in me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish me, not more a King, and far lesse both man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint, which though it have a little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be my snare: nor shall the love of any liberty entangle my soul: Better other betray me than my self; and that the price of my liberty should be my Conscience; the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own consent.

While I can denie with reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions for their malice who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted, nor what to enquire more of me, but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy my self and mine.

Although they should destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to me, as the peace of my Conscience, the Honour of my Crown, and the welfare of my People: which my Work may injure more than any War can do; while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Laws will, by Gods blessing revive, with the love and Loyaltie of my Subjects; if I buy

them not by my Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivitie or Death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carrieth not with it, his Soules, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldom.

After times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not; and God may at length shew my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them; happily I might redeem my self to some shew of libertie, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruin of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever become of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

FOr thou, O God, infinitely good and great art with me, whose presence is better than life, and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that libertie which becometh a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse me still with reason, as a man; with Religion as a Christian; and with Constancie in Justice as a King.

Though thou suffereſt me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self; and which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyl over my passion to my impatience, or sordid fears.

There be many say of me, There is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon me, and I shall neither want Safetie, Libertie, nor Majestie.

Give me that measure of Patience and Constancie, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scatterd; my expectation from men defeated; my Person restrained: O be not thou far from me, lest my enemies prevail too much against me.

I am become a wonder and a scorn to many: be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that that hate me, may be ashamed because thou hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit that I may do, and suffer thy will as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities be over-past.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy Mercie, and my Saviours Merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vale and shadow of death yet shall I fear none ill.

24 Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance His Chaplains.

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive me of all other civil comforts and secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my Chaplains, whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have cause to love. For their Learning, Pietie, and Prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so relying by their pious help, a spirituall harvest of Grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of many temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed, or desired the service and assistance of men judiciously pious and soberly devout.

The Solitude, they have confined me unto, like the Wildernesse to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon me is more sad than Solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the Militia, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policie of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to deny the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbaritie, than is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors, whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercie of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergie, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But my Agonie must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly and discreet Divine: and such I would have all mine to be.

They that envie my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian, while they seek to deprive me of all things else, They are afraid I should save my Soul.

Other sense, Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the Attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the unchristiannesse of those Denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer mine own Divines before their Ministers: whom though I respect for that worth and pietie which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physitians; Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these Calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with me, and for me, since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousy of me, or in opposition against me: their spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or

maine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other Duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; the golden Rule and bond of Perfection consisteth that of mutual Love and Charitie.

Some Remedies are worse than the Diseases; some Comforters more miserable than Misfortunes self; when, like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to comfort ones mind with Patience, but persuade man by betraying his own Innocencie, to despise of Gods Mercie; and, by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that I have any thing in them becomming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded my own Interest chiefly upon Conscience and Constancie, to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the Sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my Dutie the more to appear as a Father, and Patron for them and the Church. Although I was very unhand somly requited by some of them, who may live to repent no less for my Sufferings, than their own ungratefull Errours, and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pitie all of them, I despise none: once I thought I might have leave to make choise of some for my special Attendants, who were approved in my judgement, and most suitable to my affection. For, I held it better to seem unbecom vout, and to hear no mens Prayers, than to be deceived, or seem to complie with those Petitions, which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say, *Amen*, without contradicting a mans understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldness, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and pious gravitie as shews the Speaker to be considerate of Gods Majestie, the Churches Honour, and his own vilenesse; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the Divine Mercie for himself and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, if it be found either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately; as either wanting humilitie to God; or charitie to men; or respect to the dutie.

I confesse, I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publick Forms of Prayers, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn my heart unto than I can be of any mans extemporarie sufficiencie, which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions, so I allow it, just Libertie and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnitie of the dutie, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and most necessarie requisites both in constant, and occasional, solitarie, and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds with as much reason to prefer the service of my own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been alwayes educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that as by any certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly crie up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and defused by many of them, as the Common prayer sometimes was by those men: a great part of whose pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the *woe of Vae solis* than to that of *Vae vobis Hypocritis*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my Deniers sufficient of my self to discharge my Dutie to God as a Priest, though not to men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of Primogeniture: Nor could I follow better Presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Psalms and Prayers; the other for his Divine Parables and Preaching; where the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, and the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater Honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, alwayes distinguished the gifts and Offices of Kings, of Priests of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am loth to find my self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of Kingly Power and Sovereignty; would no lesse enforce me to live many Moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become mine own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergie the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than mine own, or others mens, by how much they flow from minds more enlighthred, and affection lesse distracted, than those which are encombered with secular affairs. Besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptable sacrifice attends those Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of their calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, in which the devout Soul is subject to Christ,

through his merits daily offers it self and its services to GOD: every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the Honour of a Royal Priest-hood; yet as to Ecclesiastical order, and the outward polittie of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest-and I think more pious Principles: the conscioufnesse to my spiritual defects make me more prize and desire those plous assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops, or Presbyters, may afford me, especially in these Extremities: to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them nothing more-but my life to take from me; and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny me, than this of having some means afforded me for my souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and pieties, no lesse than for their Loyaltie: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but onely this, that they may seem too able, and too well affected toward me and my service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced me to serve my self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief and impatience the want of my Chaplains, than of any other my Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporarie affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is that in \S enforced (not neglected) want of ordinarie means, God is wont to afford extraordinarie supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me and help mine Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope

hope he will) I shall need no other, either our tour or Instructor.

TO thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now solitarie prayers; what I want of others, help supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkness, and quicken my dullness.

O thou Sun of righteousness, thou sacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat: at once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulness; From thee all sufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest: Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of *Jacob* prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duel when he had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy whom thou didst once bless with the joynt and sociated devotions of others, whose fervent might inflame the coldness of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in the House with the voice of joy and gladness, worshipping thee in the unitie of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be a hermit in the wilderness, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a Coal scattered from all the pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the lively fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quencheest the smoking Flax, do not despise the weakness of my prayers, nor the smothered

of my soul in this uncomfortable lonenesse; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love; let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnesse encline thine ear to me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavie, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand shortened, that it cannot help me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; But they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me; thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord canst at once make me thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears, my self to thee; who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou, O Lord, didst cause by secret supplies and miraculous infusions; that the handfull of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oyl in the cruse fail the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my soul which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving truths, I have formerly learned, now fail my memorie; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinarie and wholesome food for the refreshing of my Soul

Which yet I had rather chuse than to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than

teaching me; whose mouths are prouder to bring reproches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest O Lord of truth, how oft thou writest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction (which are cleare for their subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those mens balauns break my head, nor their cordials oppress my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickednesse.

From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the fury of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and those Loyal and Religious hearts, who desire delight in the prosperitie of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, the solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

25 Penitential Meditation and Vows in the KING solitude at *Holmby*.

Give ear to my words O Lord, consider my Meditation; and hearken to the voice of my cry: my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes, nevertheless thou hearest the voice of my supplication: when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be exream to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it? but shew thy mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared: therefore shall sinners flee unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which bring the aggravation of my condition; the embittering of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive I beseech thee, my Personal, and my Peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have

Improved the power thou gavest me to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glorie and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things, I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far short of *Dauids* pietie; yet since I may equal *Dauids* afflictions: give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of *David*.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercie upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesse, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperitie deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery trial consume the drosse, which in long peace and plentie we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperitie, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of Justice must be stretched out still; Let it, I beseech thee, be against me and my Fathers house; as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches enemies.

But let their crueltie never exceed the measure of my charitie.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revengethat
may not lose the reward, nor thou the glorie
my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so
beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done
against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me a
heart to pray unto thee; so hear and accept this
Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember me, and my
Kingdoms; In continuing the light of thy Gospel
and setting thy true Religion among us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and
the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church
and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient
rights and glorie of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my People to thy
self in pietie, to me in Loyaltie, and to one ano-
ther in Charitie.

If thou wilt quench the flames; and withdraw the
fewel of these civil Wars.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedom of pu-
blick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Pa-
liaments from the insolence of the Vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of
enacting any thing against my Conscience; and
especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines
and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacitie to glorifie
thee in doing good, both to the Church and
State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy
name before my People.

Then shall thy glorie be dearer to me than my
Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion
both in puritie and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice, and
my Kingdoms with equitie.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever owe
as the rightfull succession, so the mercifull restora-
tion of my Kingdoms, and the glorie of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safetie, and honour, to my chiefest Citie, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charitie, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christs sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injurie done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the wayes of *amnesty* and indempnitie which may most fully remove all feares, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my People.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer, nor taken his mercie from me.

O my soul, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I, that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, O Lord, hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happie, if not by me: yet without me.

26 *Upon the Armies Surprisal of the KING at Holmby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the Citie.*

WHat part God will have me now to rise or suffer in this new and strange Scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man who only seeks to present a part of Honesty and Honour.

This surprize of me tells the World, That KING cannot be so low, but he is considerable; adding weight to that Partie where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times seems centrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other as much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide the tongues and hands is but an ill omen, and sounds too like the furl of those zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the great occasion of the last fatal destruction of the Citie.

Well may I change my Keepers and Priests

but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Libertie of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason denie to mine.

In this they seem more ingenious, than the Presbyterian rigour, who sometimes complaining of exacting their conformitie to laws, are become the greatest Exactours of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authoritie of Laws, which they cannot well have without my consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carrie on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming my Person into the armies custody, without any Commission but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timorous to carrie on any design they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the Citie; which soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuarie motions, (never questioned, punished or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glasse of the present terrors and distractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the hand of divine Justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Armie for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin, but adde sin to sin, till the latter punish the former; such as were content to see me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to lie to an Armie, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some men justice? the Members of both Houses who first withdrew, (as my self was forced to do) from the rudenesse of the Tumults, were counted Desertours, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forsaken of their places: carrie the Parliamentarie power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Armie: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettours of Tumultuarie insolencies, and Betrayers of the Freedom and Honour of Parliament.

This is power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages than their Consciences, and the unchangeable rulers of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the Plea against Tumults holds good: the Authours and Abettours of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before they were counted as Friends and necessarie Assistance.

I see vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the mice and rats are said to have done a Bishop in Germanie) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregably against it, both by their multitude and compli-
ance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this Divine Justice, and with sorrow and pitié; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and Citie, that I was sorrie to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthie such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never
had

had so ill a thought of those Cities, as to despair of their Loyaltie to me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them, upon whom I look, as Christ did sometimes over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their dutie: fatal blindness frequently attending and punishing wilfulness, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquitie are not far from becoming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder than to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of fantasie, than in a right line of reason tending to the Law; the onely center of publick consistencie; Whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happie we are, to be subject to the known Laws than to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it self, and end in a refractorie sullenness: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Armie (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indemnitie) I think it necessarie in order to the publick Peace that they should be satisfied as far as is just, no man being more prone to consider them than my self; though they have fought against me, yet I cannot but far esteem that valour and gallantrie they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men

men to maintain my self, my Laws and my Kingdoms in such a Peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unitie in a Sacred Trinitie, in mercy behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver me from the striving of my people, and make me to see how much they need prayer, and pitie, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another to the continuance of my Kingdoms distractions.

Discover to all sides the waies of peace, from which they have swerved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due observation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even such as thou wouldst have me that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillitie which thou alone canst give me.

Divert I pray thee, O Lord thy heavy wrath justly hanging over these populous Cities, whose plentie is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security and their security exposing them to expected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glorie and the publick peace; lest their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them that they cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee, and the clear convictions of their own consciences fight more against themselves, than ever they did against me.

Their sins exposing them to thy Justice, their Riches to other injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to Confusion.

Though they have with much forwardness helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruin.

Let





Natus Maij 29^o. 1630
Ætatis suæ 19.

Let me not so much consider either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities, to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves; who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canst and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy than of mans crueltie, or thy own justice.

27 To the Prince of Wales.



ON! if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my Conscience and my most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in my late Troubles,

come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgement aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use can be made; And they may also give you some directions, how to remedie the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injurie of my long restraint, when I find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy

thy of my self, and usefull to you; That neither you; nor any other, may heresfter measure my Cause by the Successe; nor my Judgement of things by misfortunes, which I count the greater by this, because they have so far lighted upon you, and some Others, whom I have most cause to love as well as my self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense than of mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most Princes; that you have begun, and now spent some years of discretion in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Virtues, both Moral and Political are commonly better planted to a thriving, (as trees set in winter) than in the warmth, and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honour, or to be contented onely with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of David and Rehoboam. The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom, the other softened by the unparall'd prosperitie of Solomons Court, and so corrupted to the great deminution both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as flies are from fruit in summer, whom adversity, like cold weather drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charls le Bon* than *le Grand*, good then great; I hope God hath designed you to be both; having so early put you into that exercise of Graces, and gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those over whom God shall place you.

with

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign disposer of the Kingdoms of the world, who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereign-tye you can attain to, is to be subject to him; that the Sceptre of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glorie of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civil Power, with Justice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which Centre of true Happines God I trust, hath and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally drunk, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; well grounded and settled in your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated: yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custom or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessarie for your Souls than your Kingdoms Peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion,

lion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Light; When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Pietie pleads for Peace and Patience they cry out Zeal.

So that unlesse in this point you be well settled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours under pretensions of reforming matters of Religion; for that seems, even to the worst of men, as the best and most auspicious begining of their worst designs.

Where besides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, everie one hath an affectation by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion to be thought zealous, hoping to cover those irreligious deformities whereto they are conscious by a severitie of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion contrarie to what is in your Judgment, and the Churches well settled; your partial adhering, as Head, to any one Side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion as it loseth you in others; who think themselves and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmnesse and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality; or so order affairs in point of Power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, you must stand to their courtesie, you are undone. The Serpent will devour the Dove, you may never expect lesse of loyalty, justice, or humanity than from those, who engage into religious Rebellion, Their interest is alwayes made God under the colours of Pietie, ambitious policies March, not onelie with greatest security, but applause, as to the populace; you may

from them *Jacobs* voice, but you shall feel they have *Esaus* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*; for many years; so compliant they were to publick order: nor indeed was their *Partie* great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements: But as soon as discontents drave men into Sittings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflammations) so did all at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbyterie their great Master: til time and Military sucresse discovering to each their peculiar advantages invired them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their *Partie* the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbyterie it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedie Reforming and effectual suppressing Errours and Schismes, which seem at first but as a hand-breadth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of those Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperment give very much to Subjects Industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves, whose subjection, as it preserves their prosperity,

peace

peace, and safetie, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety, to the Head, but a necessarie debilitation and ruin.

Your prerogative is best shewed & exercised in submitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Law, there being nothing worse than legal Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproch of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own Conscience: Troublers of my Kingdoms having nothing else to object against me but this, That I prefer Religion and Laws established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God wil deal with me, as to the removal of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of my Subjects hath been pleased to lay upon me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can: reserving onely what I cannot consent unto without an irreparable injury to my own Soul, the Church, and my People, and to you also, as the next and undoubted Heir of my Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence to whom difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due after my decease bring you, as I hope he will, my counsel and charge to you, is, That you seriously consider the former, real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsel, fidelitie, and discretion, in managing Affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in your self, or others, a diffidence of your own judgement, which is likelie to be alwaies more constant and impartial to the interests of your Country and Kingdom than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crossnesse and asperitie of some mens passions, honours, or private opinions, imployed by you, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian moderation often dissipates their strength, whom tougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Partie into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutours, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up solid Piety, and those fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety: but with an equal eye, and impartial hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their real goodnesse both in abilities

ties and fidelitie worthie and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain you the hearts of the best, and the most too; who though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer waies of vitrue at any time sweetened by temporall rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformitie to the Laws established in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemie, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to me) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalrie, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious desires, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Libertie: As the wolf is not lesse cruel, so he will be more justlie hated, when he shall appear no better than a wolf under Sheeps clothing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicitie follow those disguises; my charge and counsel to you is, That as you need no palliations for any designs (as other men) so you studie really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, pietie and vitrue, towards the people) even all those men that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion, so you shall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodnesse) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your people; who cannot in reason promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the virtuous constancy of their King.

When these mountains of congealed Factions shall by the Sun-shine of Gods mercie, and the

glour of your virtues be thawed and diffused; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, that none are greater Oppressours of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences, than those men that witle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicatours of them, onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray you to any studie of revenge upon those whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

but as soon as the forked arrow of Faction is drawn out: use all Princely art, and clemencie to heal the wound; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnitie, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way innoxious to the Laws, and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you alwayes propense to the same, when ever it shall be desired, and accept: let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-politic and necessitie, but Christian charitie and holie.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, than any prosperitie can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis information or mis apprehension of things.

None will be more Loyal and Faithfull to me and you, than those Subjects, who sensible of their wrongs, and our injuries, will feel in their own hearts most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defect.

As your qualitie sets you beyond any Duel with any Subject; so the noblenesse of your mind must

must raise you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the mer-
nie.

The more conscious you shall be to your own merits, upon your People, the more prone you will be to expect all Love and Loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: you will have more inward complacencie in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercie, and my Subjects affections towards you; both which I hope you will studie to deserve yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercie.

If God shall see fit to restore me, and you after me, to those enjoyments, which the Laws have assigned to us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can develt us of: then may I have better opportunitie, when I shall be so happie to see you in Peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to Gods Glorie, your own Honour, and the Kingdoms Peace.

But if you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscuritie (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with me; I do requir^e intreat you as your Father, and your KING that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of England.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much thought and many disputes, have concluded it to be best in the world; not onely in the Commonweal of Christian, but also in the special notion, as is formed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the mean^{ness} of fantastick Anarchie.

Not but that, the draught being excellent

the main, both for Doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may happily need some sweetening or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand; if some mens precipitancie had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or your own thoughts in this: That scarce any one who have been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatening petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true piety, both of them are to be known by their fruits; the sweetnesse of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversion, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminish your greatness, but will rather be as interchangings of Love, Loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biased by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that

H

Freedom

Freedom, and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) since the publick interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publick consent; without Tyranny or Tumult. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I nor you be ever restored to our Rights but God in his severest Justice will punish my Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperitie of their wickednesse: I hope God will give me and you that grace, which will teach and enable me to want as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or injoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue and Honour; you shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of your Honour will consist in your preferring all respect, love, and protection to your Mother, my Wife; who hath many wayes served well of me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to blesse me with so many happy Children; (all which, with their Mother, I commend to your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimitie and patience to suffer both for, and with me, and

My prayer to God Almighty is, (wherever some of me, who am, I thank God, wrapped up and fortified in my own innocencie, and his Grace, that he would be pleased to make you a safe Harbour, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and shipwrecked Kingdoms; a Repairer by your wisdom, justice, piety, and valour, of what the sin and wickednesse of some men have so far ruined as to leave nothing entire in Church or State, the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergie, or the Commons either as to Laws, Liberties, Order, Honour, Conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my blood will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven; so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted me, or engaged against me through the artifice and hypocrisie of their leaders, whose inward horrour will be their first Tormentour, nor will they escape exemplarie judgements.

For those that loved me I pray God, they may have no misse of me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope; that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their dutie toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I believe you will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that Loyalty and love to you, which was due to me.

In sum, what good I intended, do you perform; when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since my Restraint and cruel usage, that they sought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times I hope attend you, wherein your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicitie.

I pray God blesse you, and establish your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion, and your Honour in the love of God and your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by

my destruction, let my memorie ever, with my name, live in you; as of your Father that loves you: and once a King of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to Honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the Rights of the Church, the Power of the Laws, the Honour of my Crown, the Priviledge of Parliaments, the Libertties of my People, and my own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me than a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore me to my Rights, I cannot despair either of his Mercie, or of my Peoples love and pitie.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better Kingdom which God hath prepared for me and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, whose mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on Earth yet in Heaven.

28 Meditations upon Death after the Votes of Non-Ad- dresses, and His Majesties closer Imprisonment in Car- risbrook-Castle.

AS I have leifure enough, so I have cause more than enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my death: for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which giveth me space; but mans crueltie, that giveth me death. Occasions for these thoughts.

For besides the common burthen of mortality which lies upon me, as a Man, I now bear a heavy load of other mans ambitions, fears, lies, and cruel passions, whose envy or

against me makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thank God, my prosperitie made me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortalitie :

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwayes uncertain : Death being an Eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But my now long and sharp adversitie hath so reconciled in me those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrours of it are dispelled ; and the speciall horror of it as to my particular, much allayed : for, although my death in present may justly be represented to me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policie of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those things, as unpoysinous, though sharp : since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his death against them ; which as to the immaturitie, injustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the beaten wall of a judicious integritie and constancie, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be wearie of life, nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die, or ashamed to live : true, I am so afflicted, as might make me sometime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glorie of a Christians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us overlive our own fates, while we are deprived of health, Honour, libertie, power, credits, safetie, or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though as a King, I think my self to live in nothing

thing temporal so much, as in the love and goodwill of my People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, my enemies have used all the poison of falsitie and violence of hostilitie to destroy, first the Love and Loyaltie, which is in my Subjects; and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed they have left me but little of life, and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and crueltie can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my Soul! think not that life too long or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimitie in a good Cause, as are the greatest Honour of our lives and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimitie to desire to die, out of weariness of life; and a want of that heroick greatness of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions which as shadows, necessarily attend us, while we are in this body, and which are lessened or enlarged; as the Sun of our prosperitie moves higher or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lion, but they yield much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them: who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdoms, my Friends and loving Subjects being helplesse Spectrours, my enemies insolent Ravilers and Triumphers over me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason,

God hath taught me not to hope otherwise, as of mans cruelty; however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods sole custody and disposal: whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die: but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to me. I confesse it is not easie for me to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers me to be tempted, which are equally horrid, either in the suddenness of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greater formalities, whereby my Enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will: it may be, seek to adde (as those did, who crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pitié, it will be but a necessarie policy: to make my death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign, who know that no Law of God, or Man invests them with any power of Judicature without me, much lesse against me: and who being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour my preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereign: wherein those who have had the chiefeft hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, must by shedding my blood, seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are most evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe, in their own consciences too; while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes men spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Suspectious than this, the *Guilt of their un-*

just usurpation, notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first the monstrousnesse of their designs, who despaired indeed of possessing the power and profits of the Vine-yard, till the Heir, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, my greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy my self with the Church and State by my Word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of mine, could ever yet satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once weak, sharp, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive til watered with the Royal blood of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both my Protector, and my Advocate, who is my onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and Majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection; which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patronesses of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them, shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing me.

Their impatience to hear the loud cry of my blood, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after mine.

The sad confusions following my destruction are already presaged and confirmed to me by those that I have lived to see since my troubles;

in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many waies pleaded my cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their onely security; who have cause to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed up death in the victory of his Resurrection and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not onely the honour to imitate his example in suffering for righteousness sake, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also, that charitie, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victorie over my Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my blood to them further than to convince them, what need they have of Christs blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding mine.

At present, the will of my Enemies seems to be their onely Rule, their power the Measure, and their successe the Exactour, of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancie of their safetie by my danger, and the securitie of their lives and designs by my Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities; so the severest vengeance of God are the most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting, to my death are embroiled with my blood.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This, I think, becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more than I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercie I believe will more than infinitlie recompence what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glorie attending my death will far surpass all I could enjoy or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavie and envied Crown of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory, and exchanged the shadows of my earthlie Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenlie Kingdom with himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessarie tyrannie of my destroyers will sufficientlie confute the calumnies of tyrannie against me; I am perswaded I am happie in the judicious love of the ablest and best of my Subjects, who do not onely pitie and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for me.

These know how to excuse my failings, as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious necessitie binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitlie to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes: especiallie there, where more than sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others I belive of softer tempers, and lesse advantaged by my ruin, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences, where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of prying others nails been so cruel as to cut of their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinarie; the earth of the lowest and meanest people

people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worsed Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against me, the Church and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my Peace, which I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the cause so long disputed by the Sword, between me and my causse enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, whom from worldly successe (rather like Sophisters, than sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their affections; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, safe, and fixed rule of good Actions and good Consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my Cause, and cleareness of my Conscience before God and toward my people will carrie me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that many times, those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperitie and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousness and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sails of Pirates, do not justify their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it, with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worked in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the just Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, than if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborn them all, as some men have now evidently done, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more chearfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to ow more to my enemies, than my Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, wherewith these desire, I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered, as He is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace for all which, I have been forced to contend against Errour, Faction, and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but Mortalitie, Crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death which I ow for sin to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and, although death be the wages of my own sin, as from God, and the effect of others sin as men, both against God and me; yet, as I hope, my own sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imblitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guiltie of my destruction.

The Trophies of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: both which, I pray God they may obtain: that my temporal death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, than the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, than the save bringing of
the

the ship to shore, when they have cast me over-board; though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soul with my Body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains: hath rather enlarged than any way obstructed my access to the Throne of Heaven:

WHere thou dwellest, O King of Kings, who fillest Heaven and Earth; who art the fountain of eternal life; in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Afflicter of death upon us; and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee; than by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the vally of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me, as a man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die yet I know, that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternal life

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not far from me for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will; through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou gavest me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from me; but thou hast taught me as a Christian by the example of Christ to add, not my will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errors of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the world; nothing that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my destroyers forget their duty to thee and me; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many, thou crucified him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for my murderers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercie by due convictions of their sin; and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of

justice in destroying me, while the Conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruel; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruin.

O deal not with them as bloud-thirstie and deceitfull men, but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charitie.

And when thou makest inquisition for my bloud, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the bloud of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinitie mercy at last receive both me and my enemies:

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities.

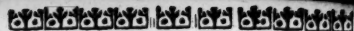
When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repaid in thy ever blessed Eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy Salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

Ω



H I S
M A J E S T I E S
P R A Y E R S
in the time of his
R E S T R A I N T.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.



Powerfull and Eternal
God! to whom nothing
is so great, that it may
resist; or so small, that
it is contemned; look
upon My Miserie with
Thine eye of Mercie,
and let Thine infinite
power vouchsafe to li-
mit out some propor-
tion of deliverance unto

Me as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not
Injurie, O Lord, triumph over Me, and let My
faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not
My unjust enemies the ministers of Thy Justice:
But yet My God, if in Thy wisdom this be the
appest chastisement for My unexcusable transgres-
sions; if this ingreatfull bondage be fittest for My
over-high desires; if the pride of My (not enough
humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I
yield unto Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what
sorrow Thou wilt have Me suffer: Onely thus
much let Me crave of Thee, (Let my graving, O
Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from
Thee) that by thy goodnesse which is Thy self,
Thou wilt suffer some beam of Thy Majestie so to
shine in my mind that I, who acknowledge it My
Noblest Title to be Thy Creature, may still de-
pend confidently on Thee in My greatest Affli-
ctions. Let Calamitie be the exercise but not the
overthrow

P R A Y E R S.

overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My destruction. And if it be Thy will that they more and more vex Me with punishment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast resolution ever to serve Thee, without fear or presumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may best please Thee; so that at the last I may come to Thy eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer and Confession made in and for the times of Affliction.

Almightie and most mercifull Father, as it is onely Thy goodnesse that admits of Our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of Thy accepting, or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary dutie to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and of all men living, I have most need, most reason, so to do, no man having been so much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship, to be set up in *Scotland*? and injured the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom; forsaking the Dictates of a right enformed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers, faulty: Grant therefore mercifull Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that Thou maiest clear the way for Thine own mercies, to which O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to My deserved afflictions. In the mean time, give Me Patience

P R A Y E R S.

tience to endure, Constancie against Temptations and a discerning Spirit, to choose what is best for thy Church and People which thou hast committed to My Charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for thy Son Jesus Christs sake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most mercifull Father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than so great a deliverance, as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions to despair of Thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majestic, that Thou wilt not onely Pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath against My hainous Offenses will not otherwaies be satisfied, than by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, Thy will be done: yet with humble Importunitie, I do and shall never leave to implore the assistance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that My cause, as I am Thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through My weaknesse: or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My mind, that with cleannesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloudie Trial, that so My sufferings here, may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. *Amen.*

F I N I S.

H

His MAJESTIES Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which he intended to deliver in writing on Monday, Januarie 22. Anno Dom. 1648.

HAVING already made my Protestations not
Honely against the Illegalitie of this pretended
Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly
call me (who am your KING) in question as a
Delinquent; I would not any more open my mouth
upon this occasion, more than to refer my self to
what I have spoken were I alone in this case con-
cerned. But the dutie I ow to God, in the preser-
vation of the true libertie of my People, will not
suffer me at this time to be silent: For how can
any Free born Subject of *England* call Life, or any
thing he possesseth his own, if Power without
Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fun-
damental Laws of the Land? which I now take to
be the present case. Wherefore when I came hi-
ther, I expected that you would have endeavour-
ed to have satisfied me concerning these grounds
which hinder me to Answer to your pretended
Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can
say will move you to it (though Negatives are not
so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will
shew you the Reason why I am confident you
cannot indeed judge me, nor the meanest man in
England for I will not (like you) without shewing
a Reason seek to impose a belief upon my Subjects.
* *Hereabouts.* * There is no proceeding just a-
gainst any man, but what is warrant-
ed either by Gods Laws, or the mu-
nicipal Laws of the Countie where
he lives Now I am most confident,
that this daies proceeding cannot
be warranted by Gods Law. For on
the contrarie the Authoritie of obedience unto
Kings is clearly warranted and strictly command-
ed both in the Old and New Testament, which
if denied I am readie instantly to prove: and for
the question now in hand, there it is said, That
where the word of a King is, there is Power; and who
may say unto him, what dost thou? Eccles 8. 4.
Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no lesse
confident

confident, that no Learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong*. Besides the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old, or new; if old, shew it; if new, tell what authoritie warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the world to judge: And it were full as strange, that they should pretend to make Law without KING or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *Englands* Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Plough-man; if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent at least of the *major* part of every man in *England* of whatsoever qualitie or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for Mine own right alone, as I am your KING, but also for the true Libertie of all My Subjects: which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Laws, such a Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives and proprietie of their goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this days proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of the Publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging my two Houses: for all the pretended Crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treatie at *Newport*, in which I have concluded as much as in Me lay

ly, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to My power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with Mine own just Right; then for any thing I can see the Higher House is totally excluded.

And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the *major* part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceedings against Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happie they have been of late years under the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the KING My Father, and My self, untill the beginning of these unhappie Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happie under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom against those who have supposed my power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having briefly shewed you the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authoritie without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and libertie of my People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince my judgement, shewing me that I am in an Errour, (and then truly I will readily Answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-hall, on Munday, 22 Januarie; but against Reason was hindered to shew my Reason.

Mun-

Munday 29. Januarie, 1648.

A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady Elisabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, the day before His Death.

HIS Children being come to meet him, he first gave his blessing to the Lady Elisabeth, and bade her remember to tell her Brother James when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charles* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him, as his Sovereign, and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart, you'll forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester upon his knee said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which words the Child looked very stedfastly on Him.) Mark what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King. But mark what I say, thou must not be a King, so long as your Brothers *Charles* and *James* do live, For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at the last: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them, at which the Child, sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoice exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elisabeths Hand.

WHAT the King said to me the nine and twentieth of January 1648. being the last day I had the happinesse to see Him; He told me he was glad I was come, and although he had no time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, because He feared their Crueltie was such that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and turne

my self for Him ; for that would be a glorious death that He should die ; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrews Sermons, Hookers Ecclesiasticall Polities, and Bishop Lands Book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also, and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them: He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His Love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me send his Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after He had given me His Blessing I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those people but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also to their own souls: And desired me not to grieve for Him, for he should die a Martyr, And that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that We should be all happier, than We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Another Relation from the Lady Elisabeth.

THE KING said to the Duke of Gloucester, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: He told him, that He heard that the Army intended to make him King, but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul, for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

A Copie of a Letter which was
sent from the PRINCE to
the KING; Dated from the
HAGUE Jan. 23. 1648.

S I R,

HAVING no means to come to
the knowledge of your Majesties
present condition; but such as I re-
ceive from the Prints, or (which is
as uncertain) Report, I have sent
this bearer Seamour, to wait upon
Your Majestie; and to bring me an
account of it: that I may withall
assure Your Majestie, I do not on-
ly pray for Your Majestie accord-
ing to my Dutie; but shall alwayes
be readie to do all which shall be
in my power to deserve that ble-
sing which I now humbly beg
Your Majestie upon

S I R,

Your Majesties

most humble and most
obedient Son and
Servant

Hague

Jan. 23.

1648.

The Superscription was thus,

For the KING.

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THE
P A P E R S
which passed at
NEW-CASTLE

Betwixt
H I S S A C R E D
M A J E S T Y
And

M^r. A L. HENDERSON:
Concerning the change of
Church-Government.

Anno Domini 1646.



L O N D O N.
Printed for R. Royston, at the
Angel in Ivie-lane. 1649.



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FOR
M. AL. HENDERSON.

HIS
MAJESTIES
First Paper.

Fid. Def. Angl. & Sc Eccl.



After *Henderson*, I know very well what a great Disadvantage it is for Me to maintain an Argument of Divinitie with so able and learned a man as your self. it being your, not My Profession; which really was the cause & made Me desire to

hear some learned man argue My Opinion with you; of whose Abilities I might be confident, that I should not be led into an Errour, for want of having all which could be said, layed open unto Me: For indeed, My humour is such, that I am still partial for that side, which I imagine suffers for the weaknesse of those that maintain it; alwayes thinking that equal Champions would cast the ballance on the other part; Yet since that you (thinking that it will save time) desire to go another way, I shall not contest with you in it, but treating you as My Physician, give you leave to take your own way of cure; onely I thought fit to warn you: lest if you, (not I) should be mistaken in this, you would be faine (in a manner) to begin anew.

Then know that from My Infancie I was blest with the King my Fathers Love, which, I thank God, was an unvaluable happinesse to Me, all his dayes, and among all his Cares for my Education, his chief was, to settle Me right in Religion; in the true Knowledge of which, he made himself so eminent to all the World, that, I am sure none can call in question the brightnesse of his Fame in that particular, without shewing their own ignorant base Malice: He it was, who laid in Me the Grounds of Christianitie, which to this day I have been constant in; so that whether the worthinesse of My Instru&our be considered; or the, not few, years that I have been settled in My Principles; it ought to be no strange thing, if it be found no easie work, to make me alter them: and the rather, that hitherto, I have (according to *S. Pauls* rule. *Rom 14.22.*) been happy in not condemning myself, in that thing which I allow: Thus having shewed you how, it remains, to tell you what, I believe, in relation to these present miserable Distractions.

No one thing made me more reverence the Reformation of My Mother, the Church of England than that it was done (according to the *Apostles* defence, *Act. 24.18*) *neither with multitude, nor with tumult*, but legally and orderly; and by those, whom I conceive to have onely re-forming power; which with many other Inducements made me alwayes confident that the work was very perfect, as to Essentials; Of which number Church-government being undoubtedly one, I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered, if there had been cause; which opinion of Mine, was soon turned into, more than, a confidence; when I perceived, that in this particular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to be the constant universal custom of the Primitive Church, and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, we should deprive our selves of a lawful Priesthood, and then, how the Sacraments can be
duly

duly administered, is easie to judge; These are the principal Reasons which make Me believe that Bishops are necessary for a Church. and, I think, sufficient for Me (if I had no more) not to give my consent for their Expulsion out of England; but I have another Obligation; that, to my particular, is a no lesse Tie of Conscience; which is My Coronation Oath: Now if (as S. Paul saith, Rom 14.23.) *He that doubteth is damned if he eat* what can I expect, if I should not onely give way knowingly to my Peoples sinning, but likewise be perjured my self?

Now consider, Ought I not to *keep my self from presumptuous sins*? and you know who layes, *What doth it profit a man, though he should gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul?* Wherefore my constant maintinance of Episcopacie in England; (where there was never any other Government since Christianitie was in this Kingdom) Me thinks, should be rather commended than wondered at; My Conscience directing me to maintain the Laws of the Land; Which being onely My endeavours at this time. I desire to know of you, *what warrant there is in the Word of God for Subjects to endeavour to force their Kings Conscience? or to make him alter Laws against his will?* If this be not My present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken; or, if My Judgement in Religion hath been misled all this time, I shall be willing to be better directed: till when, you must excuse Me to be constant to the Grounds which the King my Father taught Me.

C. R.

New-castle,
May 29. 1646.

FOR HIS MAJESTIE.

M. ALEX. HENDERSONS
First Paper.

SIR,

1. IT is your Majesties royal goodnesse, and not my merit, that hath made your Majestie to conceive any opinion of my abilities; which (were they worthy of the smallest testimonie from your Majestie) ought in all duty to be improved for your Majesties satisfaction. And this intended in my coming here at this time, by a free yet modest expression of the true motives and inducements which drew my mind to the dislike of Episcopall Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years at the Universitie. Like as I did apprehend that it was not your Majesties purpose to have the Question disputed by Divines on both sides; which I would never (to the wronging of the cause) have undertaken alone; and which seldom or never hath proved an effectual way, for finding of truth, or moving the minds of Men to relinquish their former Tenets. *Dum res transſit a judicio in affectum*, witnesseth the Polemicks between the Papists and us, and among our selves, about the matter now in hand these many years past.

2. Sir, When I consider your Majesties education under the hands of such a Father, the length of time wherein your Majesty hath been settled in your Principles of Church-Government, the Arguments which have continually in private and publick, especially of late at Oxford, filled your Majesties ears for the Divine right thereof, your Coronation Oath, and divers State-reasons which your Majestie doth not mention: I do not wonder, nor think it any strange thing, that your Majestie hath not at first given place to a contrary impression. I remember that the famous *Joannes*
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Picus Mirandula proveth by irrefragable Reasons (which no rational man will contradict) That no man hath so much power over his own understanding, as to make himself believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his reason telleth him is false; much lesse is it possible for any man to have his reason commanded by the will, or at the pleasure of another.

2. It is a true saying of the School-men, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quoad specificationem*, Mine own will, or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter; but no will or command can constrain me to determine otherwise than my reason teacheth me. Yet Sir, I hope your Majestie will acknowledge, (for your Paper professeth no lesse) that according to the saying of *Ambrose*, *Non est pudor ad meliora transire*, It is neither sin nor shame to change to the better: *Symmachus* in one of his Epistles (I think to the Emperour *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*) alledgeth all those motives, from education, from prescription of time, from worldly prosperity, and the flourishing condition of the Roman Empire, and from the Laws of the Land, to perswade them to constancie in the ancient Pagan profession of the Romans, against the imbracing of the Christian Faith. The like reasons were used by the Jews for *Moses* against *Christ*; and may be used both for Popery & for the Papacy itself, against the Reformation of Religion and Church-Government; and therefore can have no more strength against a Change now, than they had in former times.

3. But your Majestie may perhaps say, That this is *petitio principii*, and nothing else but the begging of the Question; and I confesse it were so, if there can be no Reasons brought for a Reformation or Change; your Majesty reverenceth the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as being done legally and orderly, and by those who had the Reforming Power: and I do not deny, but it were to be wisht, that Religion where there is need, were alwayes reformed in that manner, and

by such power, and that it were not committed to the Prelats, who have greatest need to be reformed themselves, not left to the multitude whom God stirreth up when Princes are negligent: Thus did *Jacob* reform his own Family; *Moses* destroyed the golden Calf; the good Kings of *Judah* reformed the Church in their time: but that such Reformation hath been perfect, I can not admit. *Asa* took away Idolatrie, but his Reformation was not perfect; for *Jehosaphat* removed the high Places, yet was not his Reformation perfect, for it was *Hazeckiah* that brake the brazen Serpent, and *Josiah* destroyed the Idol-Temple who therefore beareth this Elogie, *That like him there was no King before him*. It is too well known that the Reformation of *K. Hen. 8.* was most imperfect in the Essentials of Doctrine, Worship, and Government; And although it proceeded by some degrees afterward, yet the Government was never reformed, the head was changed *Dominus non Dominium*, and the whole limbs of the Anti-Christian Hierarchy retained, upon whose shoulders and temptations of Avarice and Ambition the great Enchanters of the Clergy, I need not expresse. It was a hard saying of *Romanorum Malleus* *Grosted of Lincoln*, That Reformation was not to be expected, *nisi in ore gladii cruentandi*: yet this I may say, that the *Laodicean* lukewarmnesse of Reformation here, hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the Godly in this Kingdom; occasion of more schism and separation than ever was heard of in any other Church; and of unspeakable grief and sorrow to other Churches which God did blesse with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reserved for your Majesty that to your comfort and everlasting fame the praise of godly *Josiah* may be made yours; which yet will be no dispraise to your Royal Father *Edward 6.* or any other religious Princes before you; none of them having so faire an opportunity as is now by the supreme providence put into your Royal hands. My soul trembleth to think

and to foresee, what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected. I will neither use the words of *Mordecai*, *Esth.* 4. 14. nor what *Scarnorola* told another *Charls*, because I hope better things from your Majesty.

4. To the Argument brought by your Majesty (which I believe none of your Doctours, had they been all about you, could more briefly and yet so fully and strongly have expressed) *That nothing was retained in this Church but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to the constant universal practice of the Primitive Church: and that is was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, We should deprive our selves of the lawfulness of Priesthood* (I think your Majesty means a lawfull Ministry) and then *how the Sacraments can be administered, is easie to judge.* I humbly offer these considerations: First, what was not in the times of the Apostles, cannot be deduced from them: We say in *Scotland*, It cannot be brought, but that is not the ben; but (not to insist now in a Liturgy, and things of that kind) there was no such Hierarchy, no such difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter in the times of the Apostles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a sun-beam, that Presbyter and Bishop are to the Apostles one and the same thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power, or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a meer identity in all. 2. That the Apostles intending to set down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and speaking so often of them and of their gifts and duties, and that, not upon occasion but of set purpose; do neither expresse nor imply any such Pastor or Bishop as hath power over other Pastours, although it be true, that they have distinctly and particularly exprest the office, gifts, and duties of the Officers, such as Deacons.

3. That in the Ministry of the New Testament there is a comely, beautifull, and divine order and subordination; one kind of Ministers both ordinary and extraordinary being placed in degree and

and dignitie one before another, as the Apostles first the Evangelists, Pastors, Doctors &c in their own ranks: but we cannot find in Offices of the same kind, that one hath majoritie of power, or priority of degree before another: no Apostle above other Apostles (unlesse in moral respect,) no Evangelist above other Evangelists: of Deacon above other Deacons: why then a Pastor above other Pastors? In all other sorts of Ministers ordinarie and extraordinarie a parity in their own kind onely in *ſ* office of Pastor an inequalitie. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of the Ministry which are commonly called *the power of order and jurisdiction* are by *ſ* Apostles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Bishop: And that *Mat. 15. 16, 17.* the gradation in matter of Discipline or Church-censures, is from one, to two, or more: & if he shall neglect them, tell it to the Church: he saith not, tell it to the Bishop, there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never so eminent. If these considerations doe not satisfie, your Majestie may have more, or *ſ* same further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly desire Your Majestie to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from the practice of the Primitive Church, and the universal consent of *ſ* Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papists for such traditions as no Orthodox Divine will admit. The Law & Testimonie must be the Rule. We can have no certain knowledge of the practice universal of *ſ* Church for many years. *Eusebius* the prime Historian confesseth so much. The learned *Josephus Scaliger* testifieth, that from the end of the *Acts* of the Apostles until a good time after, no certainty can be had from Ecclesiastical Authors about Church matters. It is true *Dionephe* sought the preeminence in the Apostles times, and the mystery of iniquitie did then begin to work, and no doubt in after-times some puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with weaknesse, endeavoured alteration of Church-Government, but that all the learned and godly of those times consented to such a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Third-

6. Thirdly, I will never think that your Majesty will denie the lawfulness of a Ministry, and the due administration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches: which have no Diocesan Bishops, sith it is not onely manifest by Scripture, but a great many of the strongest Champions for Episcopacy, do confesse, that Presbyters may ordain other Presbyters, and that Baptism administered by a private person, wanting a publick Calling, or by a Midwife: and by a Presbyter, although not ordained by a Bishop, are not one and the same thing.

7. Concerning the other Argument taken from Your Majesties Coronation Oath; I confesse, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (so sacred a thing is it, and so high a point of Religion) much tenderneffe is required: and far be it from us, who desire to observe our own Solemn Oath, to presse Your Majesty with the violation of Yours. Yet Sir, I will crave your leave, in all humbleness and sincerity to lay before Your Majesties eyes this one thing, (which perhaps might require a larger discourse) that although no humane Authority can dispense with an Oath, *Quia Religio juramenti pertinet ad forum Divinum*, yet in some cases it cannot be denied but the obligation of an Oath ceaseth: As when we swear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superiour, who afterwards ceaseth to be our Lord and Superiour, for then the formal cause of the Oath is taken away, and therefore the obligation. *Sublata causa tollitur effectus; sublato relato, tollitur Correlatum*. Or when any Oath hath a special reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire or consent, the obligation ceaseth; because all such Oaths from the nature of the thing, do include a condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, have covenanted for the abolishing or altering of a Law, Your Majesties Oath doth not bind You, or Your Conscience to the observing of it; otherwise no Laws could be altered by the Legislative Power. This I conceive hath been the ground
of

of removing Episcopal Government in *Scotland*, and of removing the Bishops out of the Parliament of *England*. And I assure my self, that Your Majesty did not intend at the taking of Your Oath, that although both Houses of Parliament should find an alteration necessary, although (which God Almighty avert) You should lose Your Self, and Your Posterity, and Crown, that You would never consent to the abolishing of such a Law. If Your Majesty still object, that the matter of the Oath is necessary and immutable; that doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.

8. I have but one word more concerning Your Pietie to Your Royal Father, and teacher of happy Memorie, with which Your Majesty does conclude. Your Majesty knows that King *James* never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine Right; That His Majesty did swear and subscribe to the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline of the Church of *Scotland*; that in the Preface of the latter Edition of *Basilicon Doron*, His Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospel, than the pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and that he conceived the Prelats to favour of the Popish Hierarchy, and that (could his Ghost now speak to your Majesty) He would not advise your Majesty to run such hazards for those Men who will chuse rather to pull down your Throne with their own ruin, than that they perish alone. The Lord give your Majesty a wise and discerning Spirit to chuse that in time which is right.

June 3. 1646.

F O R

MR. ALEX. HENDERSON,

A Reply to his Answer to my
First Paper, June 6.
 1646.

His Majesties second Paper.

Mr. Henderson,

IF it had been the Honour of the cause which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pen to Paper, or singly to have maintained this Argument against you (whose Answer to my former Paper is sufficient, without other proofs, to justify my opinion of your abilities) but, it being meerly (as you know) for my particular satisfaction, I assure you that a Disputation of well chosen Divines, would be most effectual; and, I believe you cannot but grant, that I must best know how my self may be best satisfied, for certainly my taste cannot be guided by anothers man's Palate, and indeed I will say, that when it comes (as it must) to Probations, I must have either *Persons* or *Books* to clear the Allegations, or it will be impossible to give me satisfaction: The fore-seeing of which, made me at first (for the saving of Time) desire that some of those Divines, which I gave you in a List, might be sent for.

2. Concerning your second Section, I were much too blame, if I should not submit to that saying of S. *Ambrose* which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found lesse ingenuous than you shew your self to be in the former part of it; wherefore my Reply is, that as I shall not be ashamed to change for the better, so I must see that it is better before I change, otherwise inconsistency in this were both sin and shame, and remember (what your self hath learnedly enforced)
 that

that no mans Reason can be commanded by another mans will.

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on, with that Ingenuity, which the other did; for I doe not understand, how those Examples cited out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of Reformation, which I command, hath not been the most perfect, or, that any other is lawfull, those having been all by the Regal Authoritie; and because Henry the Eighths Reformation was not perfect, will it prove that of K Edward and Q. Elisabeth to be unperfect? I believe a new mood and figure must be found out to form a Syllogism, whereby to prove that: but however, you are mistaken: for, no man who truly understands the English Reformation, will derive it from Henry the Eighth; for he onely gave the occasion; it was his Son who began, and Q. Elisabeth that perfected it; nor did I ever aver, that the beginning of any Humane Action was perfect: no more than you can prove that God hath ever given approbation to Multitudes in Reforming Negligence of Princes: For you know there is much difference between Permission, and Approbation: But all this time, I find no Reason (according to your Promise) for a Reformation or Change (I mean since Q. Elisabeths time.) As for your Romanorum Maleus his saying; it is well you come off it, with: yet this I may say, for it seems to imply, as if you neither ought nor would justify that *Unholy* saying: and for your comparing our Reformation here to the *Judean lake-warmesse*, proved by Complaints, Grievings &c. all that doth, and but unhand-somely *Petere principium*; nor can Generals satisfie me; for, you must first prove, that those men had reason to complain, those Churches to be Grieved, and how we were truly the Cause of this Schism and separation: as for those words which you will not use, I will not answer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the first of my two main Arguments; but by your favour, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince me.

It is I must make good the *Affirmative*, for I believe a *Negative* cannot be proved; In stead of which, if you had made appear the *Practice* of the *Presbyterian Government* in the *Primitive times*, you had done much; for I doe aver, that this *Government* was never Practised before *Calvin's time*; the *Affirmative* of which, I leave you to prove: My task being to shew the *lawfulness* and *succession* of *Episcopacy* and, as I believe, the *necessity* of it: For doing whereof, I must have such Books as I shall call for; which possibly upon perusal, may, one way or other, give me satisfaction; but I cannot absolutely promise it, without the Assistance of some learned Man, whom I can trust, to find out all such Citations, as I have use of: wherefore blame me not, if time be unnecessarily lost.

5. Now for the *fallaciousness* of my *Argument* (to my knowledge) it was never my *practice*, nor doe I confesse to have begun now; For if the *Practice* of the *Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent* of the *Fathers* be not a convincing *Argument*, when the *Interpretation* of *Scripture* is doubtful, I know nothing; For, if this be not, then of necessity the *Interpretation* of *private Spirits* must be admitted: the which contradicts Saint *Peter*, 2. *Pet.* 1. 20. is the *Mother* of all *Sects*, and will (if not prevented) bring these *Kingdoms* into confusion: And to say, that an *Argument* is ill, because the *Papists* use it, or, that such a thing is good, because it is the *Custom* of some of the *Reformed Churches*: cannot weigh with me, untill you prove, these to be *infallible*; or that to maintain no *Truth*: And how *Diotrephes ambition* who directly opposed the *Apostle S. John* can be an *Argument* against *Episcopacy*, I doe not understand.

6. When I am made a *Judge* over the *Reformed Churches*, then, and not before, will I censure their *Actions*: as you must prove, before I confesse it, that *Presbyters* without a *Bishop*, may lawfully ordain other *Presbyters*: And as for the *Administration* of *Baptism*, as I think none will say, that a *Woman* can lawfully, or *Duly* administer it, though

though when done, it be *valid*: so none ought to doe it, but a lawfull *Presbyter*: whom you cannot deny, but to be absolutely necessary for the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist*.

7. You make a learned succinct discourse of *Oaths* in general, and their several *Obligations* to which I fully agree: intending, in the particular now in question, to be guided by your own *Rule*, which is, *when any Oath hath a special reference to the Benefit of those to whom I make the Promise, if we have their desire, or consent, the Obligation ceaseth*. Now, it must be known to whom this *Oath* hath reference, and to whose *Benefit* the Answer is clear, onely to the *Church of England*: as by the *Record* will be plainly made appear: and you much mistake in alleging that the two *Houses of Parliament* (especially as they are now constituted) can have this *Disobligatory Power*, for, (besides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this *Church* never did submit, nor was subordinate to them: and that it was onely the *King and Clergy*, who made the *Reformation*, the *Parliament* merely serving to help to give the *Civil Sanction*: all this being proved (of which I make no question) it must necessarily follow, that it is onely the *Church of England* (in whose favour I took this *Oath*, that can release me from it: wherefore when the *Church of England* (being lawfully Assembled) shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem my self so.

8. To your last concerning the *King my Father* of happie and famous *Memorie*, both for his *Piety* and *Learning*: I must tell you, that I had the happiness, to know him much better than you: wherefore I desire you, not to be too confident in the knowledge of his *Opinions*: For, I dare say, should his *Ghost* now speak, he would tell you, that a *Bloudy Reformation* was never lawfull, as not warranted by *Gods word*, and the *Preces & lacryme sunt Arma Ecclesia*.

9. To conclude, having replied to all your *Demands*, I cannot but observe to you, that you have

given me no Answer to my last *Quest*: it may be
 you are (as *Chaucer* sayes) like the *People of Eng-*
land what they not like, they never understand:
 but in earnest, that *Question* is so pertinent to the
 Purpose in hand, that it will much serve for my
 satisfaction: and besides it may be usefull for
 other things.

C. R.

New-castle,
 June 6. 1646.



FOR

FOR HIS MAJESTIE.

Mr. A. L. HENDERSONS

Second Paper.

SIR,

THe smaller the encouragements be, in relation to the successe, (which how small they are your Majesty well knows :) the more apparent, and, I hope, the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about, at your Majesties Command : yet while I consider, that the way of man is not in himself, nor is it in man that walketh, to direct his own steps ; and when I remember how many supplications, with strong crying and tears, have been openly and in secret offered up in your Majesties behalf, unto God that heareth prayer, I have no reason to despaire of a blessed successe.

1. I have been averse, from a disputation of Divines, 1. For saving of time ; which the Present exigence and extremity of affairs, make more than ordinarily pretious ; While *Archimedes* at Syracuse was drawing his Figures and Circlings on the sand, *Marcellus* interrupted his demonstration. 2. Because the common result of Disputes of this kind, answerable to the prejudicate opinions of the Parties, is rather Victory then Verity ; while *Sanguo tentativi Dialectici*, they study more to overcome their adverse Party, than to be overcome of Truth, although this be the most glorious Victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no such thing was proposed to me, nor expected by me. I never judged so meanly of the Cause, nor so highly of my self, as to venture

upon such weaknesse. Much more might be spoken to this purpose; but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble your Majesty with that which is contained in the second Section, hoping that your Majesty will no more insist upon Education, prescription of Time, &c. which are sufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which your Majesty acknowledges) must give place to Reason, and are no sure ground of resolution of our Faith, in any point to be believed: although it be true that the most part of men make these and the like to be the ground and rule of their Faith: in Evidence, that their Faith is not a Divine Faith, but an humane Credulity.

3. Concerning *Reformation of Religion* in the third Section; I had need of a Preface to so thorough a Theam, as your Majesty hath brought me upon; 1. For *the Reforming power*; it is conceived, when a General defection, like a deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, so that scarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a General Council is necessary; but, because that can hardly be obtained, several Kingdoms (which we see was done, at the time of the reformation) are to reform themselves, and that by the Authority of their Prince, and Magistrates: if the Prince or supreme Magistrate be unwilling, then may the inferior Magistrate, and the People, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform, within their own Sphere; and if the light shine upon all, or the major part, they may, after all other means assayed, make a Publick Reformation. This before this time, I never wrote or spoke; yet the Maintainers of this Doctrine, conceive that they are able to make it good. But Sir, were I worthy to give advice to Your Majesty, or to the Kings and supreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they should draw the hands, tongues, and pens of the learned, so discrete about other matter, than the power or Prerogative of Kings and Princes; and in this kind, your Majesty hath suffered and lost more, than
will

will easily be restored to your self or your Posterity, for a long time. It is not denied but the prime Reforming power, is in Kings and Princes, *Quibus...deficientibus*, it comes to the inferior Magistrate, *Quibus Deficientibus*, it descendeth to the Body of the People; supposing that there is a necessity of Reformation, and that by no means it can be obtained of their Superiors. It is true that such a Reformation, is more imperfect, in respect of the Instruments, and manner of Procedure; yet for the most part, more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end did I cite the Examples of old of Reformation by Regal Authority; of which none was perfect, in the second way of perfection, except that of *Josiah*. Concerning the saying of *Grosstead*, when the *Cardinals* at *Rome* confest to be a more Godly man, than any of themselves; it was his Complaint, and Prediction of what was likely to ensue, not his desire, or Election, if Reformation could have been obtained, in the ordinary way. I might bring two impartial Witnesses, *Jewel* and *Bilson*, both famous English Bishops, to prove that the tumults and troubles raised in *Scotland* at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the Papists opposing of the Reformation, both doctrine and Discipline, as an Heretical innovation; and not to be ascribed to the Nobility, people, who under God, were the Instruments of it; intending and seeking nothing, but the purging out of Errour, and setting of the Truth.

3. Concerning the Reformation of the Church in *England*, I conceive, whether it was begun or not, in *K. Henry* the 8. time, it was not finished by *Q. Elisabeth*: the Father stirred the humors of the diseased Church; but neither the Father nor the Daughter (although we have great reason to bless God for both) did purge them out perfectly: This Perfection is yet reserved for your Majesty: Where it is said: *that all this shall bring no Reasons, for a further Change*: The fourth Section, of my last Paper, hath many of Reasons against *Episcopal Government*.

offer of more, or clearing of those ; which your Majesty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned men, have observed many Defects in that Reformation : As that the Government of the Church of *England*, (for about this the question now) is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles ; which they, at least cannot deny, who profess Church-Government to be Mutable and Ambulatory ; and such were the greater part of Archbishops and Bishops in *England* ; contenting themselves with the Constitutions of the Church, and the Authority and Munificence of Princes, till of late, that some few have pleaded it to be *Jure Divino*. That, the *English* Reformation hath not perfectly purged out the *Roman* Leaven ; which is one of the Reasons, that have given ground, to the comparing of this Church, to the Church of *Laodicea*, as being neither hot nor cold, neither Pious nor Reformed, but of a luke-warm temper betwixt the two : That it hath depraved the Discipline of the Church, by conforming of it to the Civil Policy : That it hath added many Church Offices, higher and lower, unto those instituted by the Son of God ; which is as unlawful as to take away Offices warranted by the Divine Institution : And other the like, which have moved some to apply this saying, to the Church of *England* ; *Multi ad perfectionem pervenirent, nisi non se pervenisse crederent.*

4. In my Answer to the first of your Majesties Arguments, I brought a Breviate of some Reasons to prove, that a Bishop and Presbyter, were and the same in Scripture : from which, by necessary consequence : I did infer the negation ; Therefore, no difference in Scripture between a Bishop and a Presbyter ; the one name signifying, *Industria Cura Pastoralis*, the other, *Sapientia Magistratum*, saith Beda. And whereas your Majesty averres, that Presbyterial Government was never practised, before our time, your Majesty knows, the common Opinion of the Papists, against the Reformed Churches,

Churches; where was your Church, your Reformation, your Doctrine, before *Luther's* time? One part of the common Answer is, *that it was from the beginning, and is to be found in Scripture*: The same I affirm of Presbyterian Government: And for proving of this, the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, have made manifest, that *the Primitive Christian Church at Jerusalem was governed by a Presbytery*: while they shew, 1. That the Church of *Jerusalem* consisted of more Congregations than one from the multitude of Believers, from the many Apostles, and other Preachers in that Church and from the diversity of Languages among the Believers. 2. That all these Congregations were under one Presbyterial Government, because they were, for Government, one Church, *Acts 11. 22, 26*. And because that Church was governed by Elders, *Acts 11. 30*. which were Elders of that Church, and did meet together for Acts of Government: And the Apostles themselves in that meeting, *Acts 15*. acted not as Apostles but as Elders; stating the question, debating in the ordinary way of disputation; and having by search of Scripture, found the will of God, they conclude, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us*: which in the judgement of the learned may be spoken by any Assembly, upon like evidence of Scripture. The like Presbyterian Government had place in the Churches of *Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, &c.* in the times of the Apostles, and after them, for many years, when one of the Presbytery was made *Episcopus Primus*, even then, *Communi Presbyterorum consilio, Ecclesie gubernabantur*, saith *Jerome* & *Episcopus magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis Divina veritate. Presbyteris majores, & in Commune debere Ecclesiam regere.*

5. Far be it from me to think such a thought as that your Majesty did intend any Fallacy in your other main Argument, from Antiquity, we are to distinguish between *Intensio Opinionis*

& *Conditio Operis*; so may we in this case consider the difference between *Intensio Argumentantis*, & *Conditio Argumenti*. And where your Majesty argues, that, if your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the Interpretation of private Spirits, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostle Peter, and will prove to be of dangerous consequence; I humbly offer to be considered by Your Majesty, what some of chief note among the Papists themselves have taught us, That the Interpretation of Scriptures, and the Spirits whence they proceed, may be called private, in a threefold sense, 1. *Ratione Personæ*, if the Interpreter be of a private condition. 2. *Ratione Modi & Modii*, when Persons, although not private, use not the publick means which are necessary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own fancies. 3. *Ratione finis*, when the Interpretation is not proposed as Authentical to bind others, but is intended onely for our own private satisfaction. The first is not to be despised; the second is to be exploded, and is condemned by the Apostle Peter; the third ought not to be censured: But that every Interpretation which is Authentical, and of supreme Authority, which even mans conscience is bound to yeild unto, is of an higher nature. And, although the General Council should resolve it, and the Consent of the Fathers should be had unto it, yet there must alwayes be place left to the judgement of Discretion, as Davenant late Bishop of Salisbury, beside divers others, hath learnedly made appear in his Book, *De Judice Controversiarum*; where also the Power of Kings in matter of Religion, is solidly and unpartially determined. Two words onely I adde; one is, that notwithstanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Bishop having sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, will never be found in *Private Antiquity*. The other is, that many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that *Antichrist*, which was conceived in the times of the Apostles, and therefore are incompetent Judges

in the Question of *Hierarchie*. And upon the other part, the Lights of the Christian Church, at, and since the beginning of the Reformation, have discovered many secrets, concerning the *Antichrist* and his *Hierarchie*, which were not known to former Ages: And divers of the learned, in the Roman Church, have not feared to pronounce, That, whosoever denies the true and literal sense of many Texts of Scripture, to have been found out in this last Age, is unthankfull to God, who hath so plentifully poured forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generation, and ungratefull towards those men, who with so great pains, so happy successe, and so much benefit to Gods Church, have travsiled therein: This might be instanced in many places of Scripture: I wind together *Diotrephes* and the *Mysterie of Iniquitie*; the one, as an old example of Church-ambition, which also was too palpable in the Apostles themselves; And the other as a cover of Ambition afterwards discovered; which two, brought forth the great *Mysterie* of the Papacie at last.

6. Although your Majestie be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet you so far censur them and their actions, as, without Bishops, in your iudgement, they cannot have a lawfull Ministerie, nor a due Administration of the Sacraments: Against which dangerous and destructive Opinion, I did alledge what I supposed, your Majestie would not have denied, 1. That Presbyters without a Bishop, may Ordain other Presbyters. 2. That, Baptism, administered by such Presbyter, is another thing than Baptism administered by a private Person, or by a Mid-wife. Of the first your Majestie calls for proof: I told before, that in Scripture, it is manifest, 1 Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the Gift that is in Thee, which was given Thee by the Proph. sic, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbyterie*; so it is in the English Translation: And the word *Presbyterie* is often as it is used in the New Testament, always signifies the *Persons*, and not the *Office*. And although the Offices of Bishop, and Presbyter may be distinct;

distinct; yet doth not the Presbyter derive his power of Order, from the Bishop. The Evangelists were inferiour to the Apostles, yet had they their power, not from the Apostles, but from Christ: The same I affirm of the seventy Disciples, who had their power immediately from Christ, no lesse than the Apostles had theirs. It may upon better reason be averred, that the Bishops have their power from the Pope, than that Presbyters have their power from the Prelats. It is true, *Jerome* saith: *Quid facit, excepta ordinatione Episcopus, quod non facit Presbyter*; but in the same place he proves from Scripture, that *Episcopus & Presbyter* are one and the same; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Bishop, he speaks of the degenerated custom of his time. 2. Concerning Baptism, a private person may perform the external Actions and Rites both of it and of the Eucharist; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacie, unlesse it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a person made publick and clothed with Authority by Ordination. This Errour in the matter of Baptism is begot by another Errour, of the absolute necessitie of Baptism.

7. To that which hath been said, concerning your Majesties Oath, I shall adde nothing; not being willing to enter upon the Question, of the subordination of the Church to the Civil Power, whether to Kings, or Parliament, or both, and to either of them, in their own place. Such an Headship as the Kings of *England* have claimed, and such a Supremacie as the Houses of Parliament crave, with Appeals from the supreme Ecclesiastical Judicature to them as set over the Church, in the same line of Subordination, I do utterly disclaim upon such Reasons as give my self satisfaction, although no man shall be more willing to submit to Civil Powers, each one in their own place; and more unwilling to make any trouble than my self: Onely concerning the application of the Generals of an Oath, to the particular case now in hand; under favour, I conceive not how

the Clergie of the Church of England, is, or ought to be principally intended, in your Oath: For, although they were esteemed to be the Representative Church, yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective, *Salus Populi*, being *Suprema Lex*; and to be principally intended Your Majestie knows it was so in the Church of Scotland, where the like Alteration was made. And if nothing of this kind can be done without the consent of the Clergie, what Reformation can be expected in France, or Spain, or Rome itself? It is not to be expected, that the Pope, or Prelate will consent to their own ruin.

8. I will not presume upon any secret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King, your Majesties Father, of famous Memorie, they being much better known to your Majestie. I did once produce, what was professed by him, before the World: And although Prayers and Tears be the Arms of the Church; yet, it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducive for Kings and Princes, to force the Church to put on these Arms: Nor could I ever hear a Reason, why a necessary Defensive War against unjust Violence is unlawful, although it be joyned with Offence and Invasion which is pretended for Defence, but that Arms are layed down when the Offensive War ceaseth: by which it doth appear, that the War on the other side was in the nature thereof Defensive.

7. Concerning the forcing of Conscience which I pretermitted in my other Paper, I am forced now, but without forcing my Conscience to speak of. Our Conscience may be said to be forced; either by our selves, or by others. By our selves, 1. When we stop the ear of our Conscience and will not hearken, or give place to information, resolving obstinately. *Ne se quis suaseris, persuadabis*; which is no lesse than a resisting of the holy Ghost, and the hardening of our hearts. 2. Or when we stop the mouth, and suppress the clamours of our Conscience, resolving rather to suffer the Worm to grow, than

the fire to burn inwardly, than to make profession of that we are convinced to be Truth. 3. Or when we fear our Conscience, as with an hot Iron, that it becometh senselesse; which is the punishment of the former: unto which is opposed, the truly tender Conscience; such as *Josiah* had, 2 Kings 22. 19. Again, 1. Our Conscience is said to be forced by others; when they obtrude upon us what is in it self evil and unlawfull; which if we admit, against our own Conscience, we sin, two wayes; one is, by doing that which is in it self evil and unlawfull; the other is, by doing it against a dictate of Conscience, which is a contempt of God, whose Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to do that which is in it self good, or may lawfully be done, but through Error of Conscience, we judge it to be evil, and unlawfull: in this case, if we do not that which is prest upon us, we sin, because the thing is good and lawfull: And if we do it, we sin; because we do against our Conscience. Which in this case bindeth, but obligeth not: And yet there is a way to escape out of this labyrinth, it being repugnant to the equitie of the will of God to lay a Necessitie of sinning upon any man: the onely way is, to lay aside such a Conscience; it being a part of the Old man: Which we are commanded to put off; otherwise, we being sufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our old Error, we rather do violence to our Conscience our selves than suffer violence from others. The Application, for Answering the *Query*, I leave to your Majesty.

New-castle,
June 17. 1646.

FOR
Mr. AL. HENDERSON.
In Reply to his second Paper,
June 22. 1646.

*His MAJESTIES
Third Paper.*

1. **I**T were arrogance, besides losse of time, in Me to vie *preambles* with you; For, it is *vanitie* I seek, and neither *praise*, nor *victorie*; wherefore I shall onely insist upon those things which are meerly necessary to mine own satisfaction; In order to which, I desired the *assistance* of some *Divines*; whereupon I will insist no further, save onely to wish, that you may not (as I have known many men do) *lose time* by being mistaken in the way to *save* it, wherein I have onely sought to disburden my self, but to lay no blame upon you, and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second than of this, that I am glad you have so well approved of what I have said concerning my *Education* and *Reason*; but then remember, that *another mans will* is at least, as weak a ground, to build my Faith upon, as my former *Education*.

3. In this there are two points, First, concerning the *Reforming Power*, then anent the *English Reformation*. For the first, I confesse you now speak clearly, which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I shall mainly differ with you untill you shall shew me better reason: yet thus far I will go along with you, that when a *General Council* cannot be had, several *Kingdoms* may reform themselves, (which is learnedly and fully proved by the late *Archbishop of Canterbury* in his Disputation against *Fisher*) but, that the *Magistrates*, or *People* (take it which way you will) have this *Power*, I utterly deny; For which

by your favour, you have made no sufficient proof to my judgement: Indeed, if you could have brought, or can bring Authoritie of Scripture, for this opinion, I would and will yet, with all reverence submit; but as for your *Examples, out of the Old Testament*, in my mind, they rather make for, than against me, all those *Reformations* being made by *Kings*; and it is a good probable (though I will not say convincing) *Argument*, that if God would have approved of a popular reforming way, there were *Kings of Judah and Israel* sufficiently negligent and ill to have made such examples by; but by the contrary, the 16. Chap. of *Numbers* shews clearly, how God disapproves of such courses: but I forget, this Assertion is to be proved by you; yet I may put you in the way, wherefore let me tell you; that this pretended Power in the People, must (as all others) either be directly, or else declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which, how soon you can do, I submit; Otherwise, you prove nothing: For the citing of private mens Opinions (more than they concur with the general consent of the Church in their time) weighs little with me: it being too well known, that *Rebels never wanted Writers to maintain their unjust Actions*; and though I much reverence Bishop *Jewels* memorie, I never thought him infallible; for *Bilson* I remember well what opinion the King my Father had of him for those Opinions, and how he shew'd him some favour in hope of his Recantation, as his good nature made him do many things of that kind, but whether he did, or not, I cannot say: To conclude this point, untill you shall prove this Position by the Word of God, (as I will Regal Authoritie) I shall think all Popular Reformation little better than *Rebellions*; for I hold that no Authoritie is lawfull but that which is either directly given, or at least approved by God. 2. Concerning the English Reformation, the first Reason you bring why *Q. Elisabeth* did not finish it, is because she took not away Episcopacy, the hints of reason against which Government, you say, I take no notice

rice of; now I thought it was sufficient notice, yea, and answer too, when I told you, *A negative* (as I conceived) *could not be proved*. and that it was for me to prove the *affirmative*; which I shall either do, or yield the Argument, as soon as I shall be assisted with *Books*, or such *Men* of my opinion, who, like you, have a *Librarie* in their brain: And so I must leave this particular, until I be furnished with *means* to put it to an *issue*; which had been sooner done, if I could have had my will: Indeed, your second well proved, to most sufficient; which is, that *the English Church-Government is not builded upon the Foundation of Christ and the Apostles*; but I conceive your probation of this, doubly defective; for first, albeit our *Archbishops* and *Bishops* should have professed *Church government* to be *mutable and ambulatory*, I conceive it not sufficient to prove your Assertion: and secondly, I am confident you cannot prove that most of them maintained this *walking position* (for some particulars must not conclude the general) for which you must find much better Arguments than their being content with the *Constitution of the Church*, and the *authority* and *manifestness of Princes*: or you will fall extremely short: As for the retaining of *the Roman leaven*, you must prove it, as well as say it, else you say little: But that the conforming of the *Church-discipline* to the *Civil policy* should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I aver, that without it, the *Church* can neither flourish, nor be happy: And for your last instance, you shall do well to shew the prohibition of our *Saviour* against addition of more Officers in the *Church* than he named; and yet in one sense I do not conceive that the *Church of England* hath added any; for, an *Archbishop* is onely a distinction for *Order of Government*, not a *new Officer*, and so of the rest; and of this kind, I believe there are divers now in *Scotland* which you will not condemn, as the *Moderators of Assemblies*, and others.

4. Where you find a *Bishop*, and *Presbyter* in Scripture, to be one and the same (which I deny

to be alwayes so) it is in the *Apostles time*; now I think to prove the Order of *Bishops* succeeded that of the *Apostles*, and that the name was chiefly altered, in reverence to those who were immediately chosen by our *Saviour*, (albeit in their time, they caused divers to be called so, as *Barnabas*, and others) so that, I believe, that this Argument makes little for you: As for your proof of the Antiquitie of *Presbyterian Government* it is well that the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster* can do more than *Ensebius* could, and I shall believe, when I see it; for, your former Paper affirms, that those Times were very dark for matter of facts, and will be so still for me, if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it, than those you mention: for, because there were *divers Congregations in Jerusalem*; ergo, *what*? Are there not *divers Parishes in one Diocese*? (your two first I answer but as one Argument) and because the *Apostles met with those of the inferiour Orders, for Acts of Government*; what then? even so in the Times do the *Deans and Chapters*, and many times those of the *inferiour Clergy* assist the *Bishops*; but I hope you will not pretend to say, that there was an equality between the *Apostles* and other *Presbyters*, which not being doth (in my judgement) quite invalidate these Arguments: And if you can say no more for the *Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, &c.* than you have for *Jerusalem*, it will gain no ground on me; As for *S. Jerome*, it is well known that he was no great Friend to *Bishops*, as being none himself, yet take him altogether and you will find that he makes a clear distinction between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*, as your self confesses; but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained *Deacons* to be equal to *Presbyters*.

5. I am well satisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word *Falla*, though I think to have had reason for saying what I did: But by your favour, I do not conceive that you have answered the strength of my Argument, for when you and I differ upon the interpreta-

tion of Scripture, and I appeal to the *practice* of the *Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent* of the *Fathers*, to be judge between us, me thinks you should either find a fitter, or submit to what I offer; neither of which (to my understanding) you have yet done; nor have you shewn how waving those Judges I appeal unto, the mischief of the interpretation by *private spirits*, can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by *antiquity* that *Ordination* and *jurisdiction* belongs to *Bishops* (thereby clearly distinguishing them from other *Presbyters*) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of my former *foundations*, (as for *Bishop Davenant*, he is none of those, to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto) but for the exception you take to *Fathers*, I take it to be a *begging of the Question*; as likewise those great discoveries of secrets, not known to former Ages I shall call *new invented fancies* untill particularly you shall prove the contrary; and for your *Roman Authors*, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts whereby to maintain *Novelties*, as well as the *Puritans*: As for *Church ambition*, it doth not at all terminate, in seeking to be *Pope*; for, I take it to be no point of humilitie to endeavour to be *independent of Kings*, it being possible, that *Papacy* in a *multitude* may be as dangerous as in one.

6. As I am no Judge over the *Reformed Churches*: so neither do I censure them, for many things may be avowable upon *necessity*, which other wayes are *unlawfull*; but know, once for all, that I esteem nothing the better because it is done by such a *particular Church*, (though it were by the *Church of England*, which I avow most to reverence) but I esteem that *Church* most, which comes neatest to the *purity of the primitive Doctrine and Discipline*, as I believe this doth: Now concerning *Ordination*, I had you prove that *Presbyters* without a *Bishop* might lawfully ordain, which yet I conceive you have not done; For *2 Tim. 1.6.* It is evident that *S. Paul* was at *Timothies ordination*; And albeit that all the *seventy* had their

their power immediately from *Christ*, yet it is as evident that our Saviour made a clear distinction between the *twelve Apostles* and the rest of the *Disciples*, which is set down by three of the *Evangelists*, whereof Saint *Mark* calls it an *Ordination*; *Mark* 3. 15. and *S. Luke* sayes, *And of them he chose Twelve, &c.* *Luke* 6. 13. onely *S. Mattheu* doth but barely enumerate them by their name of distinction, *Matth.* 10. 1. I suppose out of modestie, himself being one, and the other two being none are more particular: For the administration of *Baptism*, giving, but not not granting what you say, it makes more for me than you: but I will not engage upon new questions, not necessary for my purpose.

7. For my *Oath*, you do well not to enter upon those questions you mention; and you had done as well to have omitted your instance; but, out of discretion, I desire you to collect your Answer out of the last Section: and for your Argument, though the intention of my *Oath* be for the good of the *Church collective*, therefore can I be dispensed withall by others than the *Representative Body*? Certainly, no more than the People can dispense with me for any *Oaths* I took in their favours, without the two *Houses of Parliament*; as for future Reformations, I will onely tell you, that *Incommodum non solvit Argumentum*.

8. For the *King* my *Fathers* opinion, if it were not to spend time (as I believe) needlessly, I could prove by living and written testimonies, all and more, then I have said of him, for his perswasion in these points which I now maintain; and for your *Defensive War*, as I do acknowledge it a great sin for any *King* to oppress the *Church*, so I hold it absolutely unlawfull for *Subjects* (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make *War* (though *defensive*) against their *lawfull Sovereign*; against which no leise proofs will make me yeild but *Gods Word*; and let me tell you, that upon such point, as these instances, as well as comparisons are odious.

9. Lastly, you mistake the *Quere* in my first Paper

per to which this pretends to answer; for my question was not concerning *force of Arguments* (for I never doubted the lawfulness of it) but *force of Arms*, to which, I conceive it sayes little or nothing, unlesse (after my example) you refer me to the former Section; that which it doth, is merely the *asking of the Question*, after a fine discourse of the severall ways of *persuading* rather than *forcing* of conscience: I close up this Paper, desiring you to take notice, that there is none of these Sections, but I could have enlarged to many more lines, some to whole pages; yet I chose to be thus brief, knowing you will understand more by a word than others by a long discourse; trusting likewise to your ingenuitie, that *reason epitomized*, will weigh as much with you as if it were at large.

C. R.

June 22. 1646.

FOR
HIS MAJESTIE,
Concerning the Authority of the
Fathers, and practice of the
Church. July 2. 1646.

M^r. AL. HENDERSONS
Third Paper.

HAVING in my former Papers pressed the steps of your Majesties Propositions, and finding by your Majesties last Paper, Controversies to be multiplied, (I believe) beyond your Majesties intentions in the beginning; As concerning the *Reforming Power: The Reformation of the Church of England; The difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter; The warrant of Presbyterian Govern-*

ment; The *Authority of Interpreting Scripture*; The *taking and keeping of Publick Oaths*; The *forcing of Conscience*; and many other inferiour and subordinate questions, which are Branches of those main Controversies: All which in a satisfactory manner to determin in few words, I leave to more presuming Spirits, who either see no knots of Difficulties, or can find a way rather to cut them asunder, than to unloose them: yet will I not use any Tergiversation; nor do I decline to offer my humble Opinion with the Reasons thereof, in the own time concerning each of them; which in obedience to your Majesties command. I have begun to do already. Onely Sir. by your Majesties favourable permission, for the greater expedition, and that the present vilitations may be brought to some issue, I am bold to entreat that the Method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin, at a Principle; and that which should have been, *inter Precognita*; I mean the Rule, by which we are to proceed, and to determin the present Controversie of *Church policy*; without which we will be led into a labyrinth, and want a thred to wind us out again. In your Majesties first Paper, the *universal custom of the Primitive Church*, is conceived to be the Rule. In the second Paper, Section the 5. The *practise of the Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent of the Fathers*, is made a convincing Argument, when the *Interpretation of Scripture* is doubtfull: In your third Paper Sect 5. the *practise of the Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent of the Fathers*, is made Judge; and I know, that nothing is more ordinary in this question, than to alledge *Antiquity perpetual Succession, universal Consent of the Fathers*, and the *universal practise of the Primitive Church*, according to the Rule of *Augustine*, *Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec a Consilio institutum, sed semper retentum est non, nisi Authoritate Apostolica, traditum rectissime creditur*. There is in this Argument at the first view; so much appearance

ance of Reason, that it may much work upon a modest mind; yet being well examined and rightly weighed, it will be found to be of no great weight; for beside that the minor will never be made good in the behalf of a *Diocesan Bishop*, having sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers, who maintain that *Bishop and Presbyter are of one and the same Order*; I shall humbly offer some few Considerations about the major, because it hath been an inlet to many dangerous Errours, and hath proved a mighty hindrance and obstruction to Reformation of Religion.

1. First, I desire it may be considered, that whiles some make two Rules for defining Controversies; the word of God and antiquity, (which they will have to be received with equal veneration) or, as the Papists call them, *Canonical Authority, and Catholical Tradition*; and others, make *Scripture* to be the onely Rule, and *Antiquity* the authentick Interpreter; the latter of the two seems to me to be the greater error; because the first setteth up a parallel, in the same degree with Scripture; but this would create a Superiour, in a higher degree above Scripture: For the interpretation of the Fathers shall be the *1st*; and accounted the very Cause and Reason for which we conceive and believe such a place of Scripture to have such a sense; and thus Men shall have Dominion over our Faith, against *2 Cor. 1. 24*. Our faith shall stand in the wisdom of man, and not in the power of God, *1 Cor. 2. 5*. and Scripture shall be of private interpretation; For the Prophecie came not of old by the will of man, *2 Pet. 1. 20. 22*. *Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, Homo jam Deo propitius esse debetis*, saith *Tertullian*.

2. That Scripture cannot be Authentically interpreted but by Scripture, is manifest from Scripture: The Levites gave the sense of the Law by no other means, but by Scripture it self. *Neh 8 &c*. Our Saviour for example to us, gave the true sense of Scripture, against the depravations of Satan.

Sum; by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not by allaging any Testimonies out of the Rabbins; *Mat. 4.* And the Apostles, in their Epistles used no other help, but the diligent comparing of Prophetical writings; like as the Apostle *Peter*, will have us to compare the clearer light of the Apostles with the more obscure light of the Prophets; *2. Pet. 1. 19* And when we betake our selves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed, that with the Papists, we accuse not the Scriptures of obscurity or imperfection.

3. The Fathers themselves (as they are cited by Protestant Writers) hold this Conclusion, that Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture it self: To this purpose, amongst many other Testimonies, they bring the saying of *Tertullian*, *Surgere veritas ipsa Scripturas tuas interpretare quam Consuetudo non novit, nam se noscet, non esset*: if it knew Scripture, it would be ashamed of it self, and cease to be any more.

4. That some Errours have been received, and continued for a long time, in the Church: The Errour of *Free will* beginning at *Justin Martyr*, continued till the time of *Reformation*, although it was rejected by *Augustine*, as the *Divine Right of Episcopacy* was opposed by others. The Errour about the *Vision of God*, That the Souls of the Saints departed see not the face of God till the Judgement of the Great Day, was held by universal Consent: the same may be said of the errour of the *Millenaries*, and, which more nearly toucheth upon the present question, the Ancients erred grossly about the *Antichrist* and *Mystery of Iniquity*, which did begin to work in the dayes of the Apostles. Many other Instances might be brought to prove the universal practice of the Church as were not warranted by the Apostles, as in the Rites of *Baptism* and *Prayer*, and the forming up and drawing together of the Articles of that Creed, that is called *Symbolum Apostolicum*, the observation of many Feasts and Fasts both Anniversary and Weekly.

5. That

5. That it is not a matter so incredible, or impossible, as some would have it appear to be, for the Primitive Church to have made a sudden defection from the Apostolical purity: The people of *Israel*, in the short time of *Moses* his absence on the Mount, turned aside quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry, *Exod. 32.* soon after the death of *Josuah*, and the Elders that had seen the great works which the Lord had done for *Israel*, there arose another Generation after them, which did evil in the sight of the Lord, *Judg. 2 & 7.* soon after the building of the Temple, and setting of Religion by *David* and *Solomon*, the worship of God was defiled with Idolatry: when *Rehoboam* had established the Kingdom, he forsook the Law of the Lord, and all *Israel* with him *2 Chron. 12. 1.* And the Apostle sayes to the Galatians, *Gal. 1. 6.* *I marvel that you are so soon removed unto another Gospel: why then shall we think it strange, that in the matter of Discipline, there should be a sudden defection, especially it being begun in the time of the Apostles? I know it is a common Opinion but I believe there be no strong reasons for it, that the Church which was nearest the times of the Apostles was the most pure and perfect Church.*

6. That it is impossible to come to the knowledge of the Universal Consent and Practice of the Primitive Church: for many of the Fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are perished, (it may be that both of these have dissented from the rest) many of the Writings which we have under their names are supposititious, and counterfeited, especially about Episcopacy which was the foundation of Papal Primacy: The Rule of *Augustine* afore-mentioned doth too much favour Traditions, and is not to be admitted, without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like Considerations may be added, but these may be sufficient to prove, that the unanimous Consent of the Fathers, and the universal practice of the Primitive Church, is no sure ground of Authentical interpretation of Scrip-

ture. I remember of a grave Divine in Scotland, much honoured by King James of happy memory, who did often professe that he did learn more of one Page of *John Calvin*, then of a whole Treatise of *Augustine*: nor can there be any good reason: (many there be against it) why the Ancients should be so far preferred to the Modern Doctours of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a manner Deified, and the other vilified: It is but a poor Reason that some give, *Fama minoris aevi*, and is abundantly answered by the Apologist for Divine Providence. If your Majesty be still unsatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpose I should proceed or trouble your Majesty any more.

New-castle,
July 2. 1646.



FOR

FOR

Mr. A. L. HENDERSON,

July 3. 1646.

HIS MAJESTIES

Fourth Paper.

I Shall very willingly follow the *method* you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive that My last Paper multiplies more Controversies than my first gave occasion for; having been so far from augmenting the Heads of our Disputation, that I have omitted the answering many things, in both your Papers, expressly to avoid raising of new and needlesse *Questions*; desiring to have only so many debated, as are simply necessary to shew, whether, or not, *I may with a safe conscience give way to the alteration of Church Government in England*; and indeed I like very well, to begin with the *settling of the Rule*, by which we are to proceed and determine the present *Controversie*: to which purpose (as I conceive) my third Paper shews you an excellent way; for there, I offer you a *Judge* between us, or desire you to *find out a better*, which, to my judgement, you have not yet done, (though you have sought to invalidate Mine) For, if you understand to have offered the *Scripture*, though no man shall pay more reverence, nor submit more humbly to it, than my self; yet we must find some rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the *interpretation* of the self-same Text, or it can never determine our questions; as for example, I say you misapply that of 2. *Corinthians* 1. 24. to me (let others answer for themselves) for I know not how I make *other men to have determi-*

nion over my Faith, when I make them onely serve to approve my reason; nor do I conceive how. 1 Corinthians 2. 5. can be applied to this purpose; For there Saint Paul onely shews the difference between Divine and Humane Eloquence, making no mention of any kind of interpretation throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed Saint Peter does, 2 Peter 1. 20. which I conceive makes for me; for, since that no Prophecie of Scripture is of any private interpretation; First I infer, that Scripture is to be interpreted; for else the Apostle would have omitted the word Private: Secondly, that at least the consent of many learned Divines is necessary, and so a fortiori, that of the Catholick Church, ought to be an authentick Judge, when men differ: And is it a good Argument? because (Matth. 4. 4, 7, 10) Scripture is best interpreted by it self, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawful? certainly you cannot think: Thus having shewed you that we differ, about the meaning of the Scripture, and are like to do so: certainly there ought to be for this, as well as other things, a Rule or a Judge between us, to determin our differences, or, at least, to make our Probations and Arguments Relevant: therefore evading, for this time, to Answer your 6 Considerations (not I assure you for the difficulty of them, but the starting of new questions) I desire you onely to shew me a better, than what I have offered unto you.

C. R.

New-castle,
July 3. 1645.

FOR

FOR
Mr. ALEX. HENDERSON,
A particular Answer to
Mr. AL. HENDERSONS,
July 3, 16. 1646.

HIS MAJESTIES
Fifth Paper.

UNTill you shall find out a *fitter way* to decide our *Difference* in Opinion concerning *Interpretation of Scripture* than the *Consent of the Fathers*, and the *universal Practice of the Primitive Church*, I cannot but passe you my Judgment *anent* those 6 *Considerations*, which you offered to invalidate those *Authorities*, that I so much reverence.

1. In the first you mention *two Rules* for *defining of Controversies*, and seek a most old way to confute them, as I think: For you alledge, that *there is more attributed to them*, than I believe you can prove, by the *Consent of most learned men* (there being no question, but there are alwaies some flattering Fools that can commend nothing but with hyperbolick expressions) and you know that *supposito quolibet, sequitur quilibet*, besides do you think, that albeit some ignorant Fellows, should attribute more power to *Presbyters*, than is really due unto them, that thereby their just reverence and authority is diminished? So I see no reason why I may not safely maintain that the *Interpretation of Fathers*, is a most excellent *strengthening* to my Opinion, though Others should attribute the *Cause and Reason* of their Faith unto it.

2. As there is no question, but that *Scripture* is the far *best Interpreter* of it self, so I see no-
thing

thing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithstanding your positive affirmation.

3. Nor in the next, for I hope you will not be the first to condemn your self, me, and innumerable Others, who yet unblamably have not tyed themselves to this Rule.

4. If in this you onely intend to prove, that *Errours* were alwaies breeding in the Church, I shall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpose; but if your meaning be, to accuse the *Universal Practice of the Church* with *Errour*, I must say it is a very bold undertaking, and (if you cannot justifie your self by clear places in Scripture) much to be blamed, wherein you must not alledge, that to be universally received, which was not, as I dare say, that the *Controversie about Free will*, was never yet decided: by *Oecumenical*, or *General Councils*; nor must you presume to call that an *Errour* which really the *Catholick Church* maintained (as in *Rites of Baptisme*, *Forms of Prayer*, *Observation of Feasts* *Fasts*; &c.) except you can prove it so by the Word of God, and it is not enough to say, that such a thing was not warranted by the *Apostles*, but you must prove by their *Doctrine*, that such a thing was *unlawfull*, or else the *Practice of the Church* is warrant enough for me to follow and obey that Custom, whatsoever it be, and think it good, and shall believe that the *Apostles Creed* was made by them, (such *Reverence* I bear to the *Churches Tradition*) untill other Authors be certainly found out.

5. I was taught that *de posse ad esse* was no good Argument; and indeed to me it is incredible, that any *custom of the Catholick Church* was erroneous, which was not contradicted by *Orthodox*, learned men, in the times of their first Practice, as is easily perceived that all those *Defections* were, (some of them may be justly called *Rebellions*) which you mention.

6. I deny it is *impossible*, (though I confesse it *difficult*) to come to the knowledge of the *Universal Consent*, and *Practice of the Primitive Church*

Church, therefore I confesse a man ought to be *carefull* how to believe things of this nature wherefor I conceive this to be onely an Argument for *Caution*.

My Conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any *Authority* equal to the *Scriptures*, yet I do think the *Unanimous Consent of the Fathers*, and the *Universal Practice of the Primitive Church*, to be the best and most *Authenticall Interpreters of Gods word*, and consequently the fittest Judges between me and you, when we differ, until you shall find me better: For example, I think you for the present, the best *Preacher* in *New-Castle*, yet I believe you may erre, and possibly a better *Preacher* may come, but till then, must retain my Opinion.

C. R.

New-castle,
July 16. 1646.

F I N I S.



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